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of

JAMES LOGAN and THOMAS STORY

1724-1741

Edited by

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Notice to Members

The Membership Committee would call the attention of the members of the Historical Association to the fact that our activities could be greatly expanded if we had a larger membership.

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Annual membership dues, $2.00. Life membership, $50.00.

CONTENTS

History of the Logan-Story Correspondence 1

Biographical Sketch of James Logan 2

Biographical Sketch of Thomas Story 6

Logan-Story Letters 17- 92

Index 93-100

Logan-Story Correspondence

(1724-1741)

Preface

Friends' Historical Association is glad to present another piece of editorial work by Doctor Norman Penney. Publication of the Logan-Story letters has been in view for some years, awaiting the hand of a competent editor. The task would have been laid upon Doctor Penney sooner had he not been engaged, at the behest of this Association, upon the arduous editorial labors connected with *The Short Journal and Itinerary Journals of George Fox*. With the publication of that important work, in 1925, the way opened for this deferred task.

Readers will readily understand why the Directors of Friends' Historical Association decided to devote a complete and enlarged number of the Bulletin to these Logan-Story letters. They constitute the most important single number of this publication yet put forth. They are presented with some pride by the Directors and with renewed thanks to our Honorary Member, Doctor Norman Penney.

AMELIA M. GUMMERE,
Chairman of Publication Committee.
RAYNER W. KELSEY,
Editor of Bulletin.

Logan-Story Correspondence

INTRODUCTION

With Biographical Sketches of James Logan and Thomas Story

The original letters forming the "Logan-Story Correspondence," printed in the following pages, are preserved at the headquarters of the Society of Friends, Euston Road, London, N. W. 1, within the covers of a wide-margined copy of *The Journal of Thomas Story,* published 1747. This volume, with others, was presented to Friends' Reference Library (D), in 1903, by the executors of George Stacey Gibson (1818-1883), who obtained them by purchase for £150 from Silvanus Thompson, of York, son of Thomas Thompson of Liverpool (1775-1861), the great collector of Quaker books and manuscripts. The Story volume is grangerised with numerous original documents of great interest. The Letters were copied for the printer at the expense of Charles F. Jenkins, of Philadelphia. They were all in proof and one copy at Devonshire House, when, in 1906, a fire took place at the printers, and the type was melted. This proof is now being used for copy. See *Journal of the Friends Historical Society* (London), II. III.

Wilson Armistead included most of the Letters (with omissions and alterations) in his *Memoirs of James Logan,* London, 1851. There is a *résumé* of the Correspondence in Ferguson's *Early Cumberland and Westmorland Friends,* 1871, pp. 130 ff. *The Friend* (Phila.), vol. 45 (1872), printed extracts provided by "Alpha," with much comment on their subject-matter.

This Correspondence between the two scientists must have been a great source of pleasure to both. Logan lamented the lack of "any acquaintance here, or any correspondents there, who could or would be of use" (Letter XV); and we think of Story also lacking congenial scientific comradeship.

A standard biography of both men is still to be written.

JAMES LOGAN

James Logan (1674-1751) was the elder of the two surviving children of Patrick and Isabel (Hume) Logan, of Ireland and Scotland and England. There is an account of his descent given in *Memoirs of James Logan,* by Wilson Armistead; *Recollections of John Jay Smith,* Phila. 1892, p. 338; *Jnl. F. H. S.* VII. 47, 86. His brother was Dr. William Logan (1686-1757) referred to in a note to Letter VII. James received a liberal education, and was with a linen draper in Dublin till his parents and their family removed to Bristol, Eng. The father took charge, for a time, of the Friends' school in that City; about 1694 it was in the hands of James, and later in the charge of Alexander Arscott (Knight, *Hist. of Sidcot School, 1808-1908,* pp. 5 ff.). In 1698, there was a prospect for our schoolmaster to become engaged in trade between Bristol and Dublin, but early the next year he was urged by William Penn to become his secretary and go with him to his new possessions beyond the sea. This offer he accepted despite the objections of his friends, and he sailed with Penn in the *Canterbury,* VII. 1699. In this choice Penn was more successful than in some others; Logan's abilities were soon recognised and at the age of twenty-five he was appointed Secretary to the Province. On leaving again for Europe in 1701, Penn wrote to Logan: "..... My dependence is on thy care and honesty. Serve me faithfully, as thou expects a blessing from God, or my favour, and I shall support thee to the uttermost" (*Penn and Logan Correspondence,* copied from the originals by Deborah Logan (1761-1839), being vols. IX and X of the *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania,* Phila. 1870, I. 61).

In IV. 1702, Penn wrote to Logan:

"Thou hast heard of the death of thy father and marriage of thy mother to one not a Friend; an exercise." Logan replied: "My mother's misfortune is my affliction, and not my crime; what most troubles me in it is my ingenious little brother, who I fear is ruined." William was then sixteen. Deborah Logan

added a note: "This was an unfortunate second marriage. She afterwards came over to this country and was affectionately received and provided for by her son: he also procured the education of his brother . . ." (*Penn and Logan Correspondence,* I. 117, 158).

Thomas Story, another highly educated man, who had given up a brilliant prospect in the law to become a travelling Quaker Minister, arrived in America toward the end of 1698 and was persuaded by William Penn to undertake legal work on behalf of his Province, and thus Logan and Story became acquainted. Ere long these two men became enamoured of the same lady, viz.. "the beautiful and wealthy Ann Shippen," and this seems to have caused a breach of friendship between them. This subject forms an article by Isaac Sharpless in *The American Friend,* 1908, p. 777, based on minutes of Philadelphia M. M. VI. 1703. All documents relating to the quarrel were to be burned and all the minutes erased. See *Penn and Logan Correspondence,* I. 231, 237, 251, 358, 367. In 1705, Logan wrote Penn of Story: "He and I are very good friends and I hope shall continue." Sharpless concludes: "Story and Logan certainly became good friends for many years after this. Their letters to each other, full of religious, moral and scientific observations and reflections, are a credit to early Quaker scholarship, as well as harmony." (Thomas Story, the successful suitor, married Ann Shippen in 1706.)

Logan was the leader of the Proprietary Party in the Province and opposed to David Lloyd, the champion of the People's Party. We cannot here enter into the political life of the times, save to say that difficulties with the Assembly resulted in an order for Logan's apprehension and imprisonment, the execution of which was deferred by Governor Gookin to enable Logan to leave for Europe, which took place late in 1709. His visit was a success, and his conduct was fully vindicated by Friends and the civil authority. Isaac Norris entrusted Logan with a letter addressed to relatives in the families of Lloyd and Crowley, and this letter was delivered at the Crowley home at Stourbridge in Staffordshire, the messenger becoming specially interested in a daughter of the house, Judith Crowley, a young lady of twenty-

nine. Perhaps Judith had interests elsewhere; however, she wrote to Logan: "Stour, 15 VII. 1711. I dare not and cannot comply with thy request for several reasons. I should, I am, and must be under subjection. This consideration will by no means admit me. No, I must not act without my friends approving of it" (*Penn and Logan Correspondence,* II. 437). Judith Crowley was a daughter of Ambrose Crowley (bapt. 1635, d. 1720), ironmonger, of Stourbridge, and sister of Sir Ambrose Crowley (1657-). See *Jnl. F. H. S.* I. 91. A sister, Sarah, married Charles Lloyd, of Dolobran in Wales in 1693. Judith's father left her £700 by his will. She married Cornelius Ford, of Stourbridge (Norris MSS. in D. vol. V.). Logan did not fare better with Judith Crowley than he did with Ann Shippen.

Much has been written upon Logan's approval of defensive war. In this he differed from the view held by the Quaker members of the Assembly (*Bulletin,* V. 42, VIII. 10; *Jnl. F. H. S.* XIII. 109; etc.) There is a letter from him on this subject in volume VI. of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* p. 402.

Though a deeply religious man, Logan did not have much share in the discipline of the Society of Friends.

The proposal of marriage between James Logan and Sarah Read came before Philadelphia M. M. in Eighth Month, 1714, and the marriage was accomplished shortly after. Sarah Read was a daughter of Charles and Amy Read, and sister of Rachel, wife of Israel Pemberton, Senr. Charles Read died in 1705—"13th 5 mo. 1705. Charles Read was buried last first day, after about eight months laid up of his distemper" (*Penn and Logan Correspondence,* I. 360).

In 1723, the M. M. gave Logan a certificate to visit Europe, and he sailed in the ship *London Hope.* The return voyage in the Eighth Month of the next year took seven weeks and two days. His safe return forms the opening subject of the *Logan-Story Correspondence.*

James Logan shewed much interest in and sympathy with the Indians and frequently entertained large companies of them at Stenton, his country home. One of their chief's thus alluded to their friend in 1742: "We called at our old friend, James Logan's, in our way to this city, and, to our grief, we found him hid in the bushes, and retired through infirmities from public business. . . . He is a wise man, and a fast friend to the Indians. . . . In testimony of our gratitude for all his services, we present him with this bundle of skins" (Armistead, *Logan,* p. 86).

Mention is made in the Letters of several of Logan's scientific and philosophical writings and in the Notes there is reference to the reception of such by the Royal Society in London. See also Joseph Smith's *Catalogue of Friends' Books,* and *Supplement.* To Philadelphia M. M. III. 1726, Logan "brought in a paper . . . condemning his breach of discipline in printing his paper called the Antedote" (*Publications of the Pennsylvania Genealogical Society,* VIII. 78)—*The Antidote, In some Remarks on a Paper of David Lloyds . . . Submitted to the Representatives of all the Freemen of Pa.* 25 Sept. 1725.

Logan's library of books was bequeathed to the City of Philadelphia—"the room, books and salary, I cannot value at less than £2000, solely designed for the use of the public in order to prevail on them (having such assistance) to acquaint themselves with literature." See *Pa. Mag.* vol. 42 (1918), for an account of the Loganian Library. It consisted of about 3000 volumes. See Letter XI. Letters of Logan are in the Library of Congress (*Handbook of MSS.* Washington, 1918, p. 270).

A sad and disabling accident befell James Logan in January, 1727/8. By a fall, the head of the left thigh-bone was broken off; he was maimed for life and long confined to his home. He wrote a full description of the accident in a letter to Simon Clement, uncle of Hannah Penn (Armistead, *Logan,* p. 105). He makes mention of the event in Letters II, V, XIV, and of his retirement to Stenton, the house he built in 1728, in the district of Germantown (still standing), in Letter II. There is a full story of Stenton, and how it escaped being fired at the time of the Revolutionary War, in *Doctor George Logan of Stenton,*

Phila. 1899. An attack of palsy seized him some years later, 12 mo. 1739/40, and this appears to have prevented further correspondence (Letter XXI).

This great and good man departed this life on the 31st December, 1751, and was buried in the Arch Street Burial Ground, Philadelphia. In First Month, 1751/2, John Smith wrote in his Diary (*Hannah Logan's Courtship,* edited by Albert Cook Myers, Phila. 1904, being the Diary of her husband, John Smith (1722-1771), p. 320): "We dined with Mother, &c[a] at Brother William Logan's. After dinner we spent some time in preparing a state[mt] of the case respecting Father Logan's will &c[a] to consult council upon, I Norris Excepting to it."

THOMAS STORY

Thomas Story (1662-1742) was a son of Thomas and Thomasin Story. His parents were married in January, 1658, according to a monumental inscription in Arthuret church: "Here lyes the Bodye of Mrs. Thomasin Story, daughter of Mr. George Constable, last Rector of this Church, who was marryed to Mr. Thomas Story of Justice-town the 12th of January, 1658. She left issue George, Christopher, Thomas and Anne, and dyed the 1st of February, 1674." The home of the Story family was Justice-town, six miles from Carlisle, in Cumberland. A later owner changed the name from Justus or Justice-town to Lynehow, but the present owner, Major Irwin, reverted to the old name. In the will of Story other properties are named in the parishes of Kirklinton and Arthuret, Co. Cumberland (*Journal,* p. 753; *Jnl. F. H. S.* XXI. XXII). George Story (d. 1721; *Dictionary of National Biography,* London) took orders and became Dean of Limerick, Ireland, in 1705. He was the author of a history of the war in Ireland, 1691-3, being Chaplain to Sir Thomas Gower's regiment of foot. In this history he wrote: "A younger brother who was ensign in the same regiment, was killed near Birr in June 1691." This was, presumably, his brother Christopher. His sister Anne was living at Justice-town, perhaps as Story's housekeeper, being at the date of his will, 1741, Anne Eliott, and

receiving £500, with smaller amounts for her daughters. In 1715 his father was "very aged and without sight." He had earlier been troubled at the absence of hat-honor in his son's behaviour towards him, as was the case of the fathers of William Penn and Thomas Ellwood, but the son records later that divergence in religious view did not prevent "great tenderness" between them (*Journal,* p. 467).

The family attended the Cathedral Church of Carlisle and lived in considerable style, but Thomas became early dissatisfied with forms of religion and eagerly sought after reality. He received a good education, and was practising as a lawyer when, at a trial, he heard Quakers mentioned and their objection to oaths. An occasional attendance at the Friends' meeting at Broughton led him into closer touch with Friends.

In 1691 Story definitely allied himself with the Quaker cause and he soon became one of the few front-rank Friends of the early eighteenth century. A gift for the ministry followed; his addresses were "kindled with seraphic flame" (*Jnl. F. H. S.* V. 47). At the close of this year, "desiring to see Friends in some other places," he accompanied Andrew Taylor to some nearby meetings and in the following year John Bowstead and he travelled in North Britain in much unity of spirit and purpose.

Having relinquished much of his professional work in the North, he settled in London, in 1695, as a conveyancer, partly in the employ of Friends, but he was often from home on visits to his brethren in many places.

Story wrote: "In the year 1693 the word of the Lord opened in me, saying: 'Behold my visitation cometh over the western parts of the world, towards the sun-setting in the winter time'" (*Journal* p. 147).

On the 10th of the Ninth Month of 1698, in company with Roger Gill, who died in America, and with the send-off of John Field, William Penn and others, Story embarked on the *Providence of London,* and on the 7th of the Twelfth Month, the vessel made land in Chesapeake Bay. For a twelvemonth he travelled over "the northern parts of English America," and then felt a release from further service. He was preparing to return home,

when William Penn, who had returned from Europe and had found things much out of order in his Colony, engaged his legal services, and he became a member of the Council, Keeper of the Great Seal, Master of the Rolls, and, for a short time, Recorder of the City, with the understanding between them that he might undertake religious visits as opportunities offered. At times he was absent for so long that a substitute had to be appointed.

With William Penn, in 1699, came over the young man James Logan, who, shortly afterwards, "formed an attachment for the beautiful and wealthy Ann Shippen, daughter of Edward Shippen, Mayor of the City, but found a formidable rival in the learned and eloquent young Quaker Minister, Thomas Story. The fair Ann was inclined to listen to the vows of the latter suitor" (*Hannah Logan's Courtship,* p. 17). The marriage of Thomas Story and Ann Shippen took place 10 V. 1706. (A copy of the wedding certificate is in D with names of witnesses.) It was a short married life; Ann Story died of consumption, *s. p.* 10 VI. 1710. Thomas Story never re-married; in view of subsequent events it might have been better had he seen his way to another marriage.

Many religious visits were paid between 1699 and 1714. When visiting Nantucket Island in 1706, he was the means of the convincement of that famous and capable woman, Mary Starbuck, *née* Coffin (1645-1717). She had first been reached by the preaching of John Richardson in 1701; after Story's visit she held meetings at her house, finally applying, with others, for permission to establish a Meeting under care of Rhode Island Yearly Meeting. The petition is dated 26th of 3 mo. 1708. See *Jnl. F. H. S.* XII. 160. Towards the close of 1708 a visit was paid to the West Indian Islands in company with Jonathan and Mary Dickinson. The vessel was captured by a French Privateer and the passengers were landed on Hispaniola. When liberated they reached the island of Antigua. "I was cheered in my Spirits to meet with some Friends and again returned among our own nation" (*Journal,* p. 456). The safe return was a great relief to their anxious friends at home.

During his fifteen years' residence in America, Story was very active in Church affairs, as may be seen in the minutes of Meetings around Philadelphia and in extracts from them which appear in the *Publications of the Pa. Genealogical Society,* vols. 2-7. In 1711 he was one of the Overseers of the William Penn Charter School.

It had been Thomas Story's intention to return to Europe in 1711 and certificates were prepared for him about the middle of that year (originals in grangerised *Journal*), but some pressing occasions hindered. His certificates were endorsed: "26 I. 1713/14" and in the Second Month he sailed to Barbados and after a short stay he departed for Europe, the Friends of the Island providing him with sea-stores, a list of which is preserved with the grangerised *Journal.*

On the 6th of Tenth Month, 1714, Story arrived at the house of John Crouch, upholsterer, in Crown Court, Gracechurch Street, London. Itinerant religious work soon claimed him again. He visited William Penn and then went North to Justice-town, and in 1715 he paid a visit to Holland. A visit to Ireland followed, during which he met a "brother and sister at their house at Bilboa," near Carlow. The sister would, presumably, be Anne Eliott. He also visited his brother George, then Dean of Limerick, whose mind had been turned from Friends by the writings of Rev. Charles Leslie (*Journal,* p. 548 and ms. there; *Jnl. F. H. S.* XIV. 124).

In 1717 and later years Story was present at Circular Yearly Meetings, held in various parts of the country. Sermons preached in various places were printed; one volume was read aloud in the Logan household (Letter XVI, see also Letter XVII). During a visit to Scotland in 1730, he was the means of convincement of May Drummond (*Jnl. F. H. S.* IV. 55).

On the 30th of Fifth Month (July), 1718, occurred the death of William Penn. Story was in Bristol and hastened to Ruscombe with John Penn, to attend the funeral at Jordans. He was of great service to Hannah Penn in the affairs of Pennsylvania, as numerous letters testify. (For one letter see *Jnl. F. H. S.* IV. 133).

In 1720-21 he was in the Fleet Prison in London for not taking the affirmation, which "as now fixed partakes too much of the nature of an oath . . . in which suffering I had great peace and acceptance with the Lord" (*Journal,* p. 634; Alexander, *Life of Story,* 1832, vol. II. p. 217 n).

Sketches of the life of Thomas Story, which have appeared in various forms of print, omit, from ignorance or with intent, certain unpleasant incidents which took place, and statements circulated against his moral character. From most, if not all, of these he was cleared of blame, but one thinks there must have been some trait in his mental make-up which laid him open to attack by his enemies. "Embitter'd Adversarys" are mentioned in Letter X, but the portion of the draft of the letter containing the reference to his troubles has been crossed out, so perhaps the matter was omitted from the final writing. See Letter XIII.

In the year 1720 there arose a dispute between Thomas Story and James Hoskins, which caused some commotion and produced a sheaf of literature. "Mr. Story, being Treasurer to the Pennsylvania [Land] Company had a considerable sum of their money in his hands, and, to secure it, thought proper to lodge it in the Bank; but being (as he says) unacquainted with the nature of keeping a Bank-book, he employed Hoskins to assist him. Hoskins managed the affair so as to pay in the money in the name of himself and company by which he was empowered to draw it out at his own pleasure. He made such an use of that Power, that great part of the money was lost. Story laid the blame upon Hoskins, and Hoskins, to excuse himself, said that what he had done was by the order of Story. Six arbitrators were chosen by each and each agreed to acquiesce in the determination of these twelve or any seven of them. Seven gave their judgment in Story's favour, which, contrary to the agreement, the other five afterwards protested against" (Bockett, *The Wit and Honesty of James Hoskins,* etc. London, 1726, p. 5). The seven for Story were Benjamin Braine, Joseph Wyeth, Thomas Bradford, Henry Gouldney, Anthony Neate, Andrew Pitt and Samuel Arnold, and the five for Hoskins were John Falconar, Richard How, John Eccleston, Thomas Hyam and Daniel Vandewall. The original

signed writing of the award of the seven appears among documents in the grangerised *Journal.* Hoskins set forth his case in a quarto pamphlet of sixty pages, entitled: *The Pennsylvania Bubble Bubbled by the Treasurer,* etc., London, 1726. Hoskins, who had apparently been a Minister, was disowned in 1725 by Westminster M. M. on account of immorality (*The Just Defence of James Hoskins,* 1724). At this time he was living at Leicester Fields, Westminster; later he resided at Rickmansworth in Hertfordshire.

It may be in reference to this disagreement that Joseph Pike wrote to T. Story, Cork, 22 IX. 1723:

"Though thou has been preserved, yet by what I have heard thou hast in some measure fallen among the briars of the world, which have scratched thee with their tongues: to these things I never lent an ear, beyond sympathy and charity, not questioning but thou couldst in truth and justice clear thyself against all such charges."

When in Cumberland Story usually boarded at Isaac Huntington's, and in London, firstly at John Crouch's, later at Joseph Wyatt's and lastly at Joseph Green's in Duke Street. (*Jnl. F. H. S.* VIII. 83-86). We have not discovered the dates of his changes of "Landlords." In 1718, he was at John Crouch's and in 1725 at Joseph Wyatt's. In or about 1724 he was charged with "lodging at the House of a Person disown'd by the Society for scandalous Practices, contrary to the repeated Desires and Admonition of his Friends in those parts" (*Whereas the Yearly Meeting,* broadside, *c.* 1724, probably written by one of the Hoskins party).

T. Story's membership was transferred from Devonshire House Monthly Meeting to Carlisle Monthly Meeting in XI. 1730 (original certificate in grangerised *Journal*).

About 1724 appeared a broadside, issued, doubtless by the Hoskins clique, giving nine reasons why "a person" was unsuitable to be a representative to Y. M., levelled against Thomas Story concerning matters of business and personal morality. It is headed: *Whereas the Yearly Meeting,* etc. (Story's own views

as to the undesirability of certain Friends attending Y. M. are given in his *Journal,* p. 543. See *London Y. M. during 250 years,* 1919, p. 25.) His fellow members never put him into the Y. M. clerkship, a position suited to his superior education.

A charge against Story of a different kind now claims attention. In 1727 appeared a pamphlet: *A Letter or Epistle from the Friends Without to the Friends Within Doors* [at the Y. M. 1726] *Respecting Thomas Story's Case.* It is signed "Theophilus Trueman," and was probably written by James Hoskins or one of his party. In it, amongst much other matter reflecting on Story, are given letters between Story and Ann Gooch, wife of Thomas Gooch, each charging the other with immoral acts. The Gooch letters are dated from Tasburgh in Norfolk and the Story letters from Carlisle, 1724/5. The Y. M. of 1726 gave close consideration to this matter and issued it as its "unanimous sense and judgment that Thomas Story is clear of the charges of Anna Gooch against him."

From a pamphlet written by Thomas Story, entitled: *Felo-de-Se: or, Jer: Rowland's Suicide,* London, 1738, we learn of the publication of another attack on Story's morals, called: *The Hidden Works of Darkness brought to Light.* His whilom friend, John Huntington, apothecary of Carlisle, in 1731, under the name of "Jeremiah Rowlands" brought charges against "Thomas Story and Sarah Tinling or either of them, or them, the said Richard Tinling and Sarah, his wife, before their Inter-marriage." There is in D a long account of this matter, in Story's own hand, containing about 18,700 words. Sarah Tinling as Sarah Nixon was servant to Margaret, widow of Joseph Wyeth of London. Huntington withdrew all the charges and the matter was set at rest by the Monthly Meeting.

As to the personal appearance of Thomas Story, we find in the Letters of Joseph Pike (Barclay ed. 1837, p. 187), one addressed to Story, from Cork, 22 IX. 1723: "Some libertines have made use of thy name as a cloak to their own pride and vanity and running into the fashions of the world . . . I have been informed that in some things thou goest a little too fine and modish and particularly as to thy hat and long hair &c. . . ." As in the

case of Story's friend, William Penn, the generality of Friends could not understand the position of those who were brought up in a circle of wealth and education, and hardly realised how much they had to give up in conforming to the faith and practice of their new associates. Story wrote: "I put off my usual Airs, my jovial Actions and Address, and laid aside my sword. . . . I burnt also my Instruments of Musick, and divested my self of the superfluous Parts of my Apparel, retaining only that which was necessary, or deem'd decent" (*Journal* p. 15).

The presents which Story sent to Sarah Logan, Senr. and Junr., did not exhibit any Quaker simplicity (Letters X and XI). Wilson Armistead was evidently so shocked at their nature that he substituted for the list in his recension of these Letters, the sentence within brackets: "The articles are then particularized."

In the grangerised *Journal,* at p. 520, there is a list of books purchased by Story from Jacob Claus, of Holland, who bought a large number of books from the library of Benjamin Furly (*Jnl. F. H. S.* XI. 73). The value of the books purchased was about £48, but a "great part of these were lost at Sea, sent in the vessell with Jno. Padly, who Escaped by particular Providence." A man of Story's erudition would be the possessor of many books, but we do not find any mention of literature in his will. His large mahogany writing desk, standing on an oak frame with legs, for long in the possession of the family and descendants of his friend Joseph Green, was in 1894 presented to Devonshire House (*Jnl. F. H. S.* VIII. 85, with illustration).

Story's family connections and mental ability opened the way to association with persons of influence and standing. We read in his *Journal* of interviews with Peter, Czar of Russia, the Duke of Somerset, the Earls of Carlisle and Sunderland, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and others; and throughout his travels he had frequent discussions with the persons he met, on a variety of religious subjects, considerable relation of which he gives in his *Journal.* He did not fear controversy.

About 1723, Story purchased the Justice-town mansion from his "Brother's Widow" (*Journal,* p. 651), presumably the widow of George Story. In 1730, he records his favourite amusement

of "planting and improving my land" (*ibid.* p. 669) and again, in 1736, he went to his "farm where I had a large Nursery of Forest-tree Plants both British and American" (*ibid.* p. 728) and where he purposed to build a house (*ibid.* p. 752; Letter XIII).

In 1740, he hurried up to London, on hearing of the death of Joseph Green, "if peradventure I might be serviceable in any way to the widow and children" (*Journal,* p. 751); and here ends his autobiography.

The editors of the *Journal* state that Story was seized with a paralytic disorder, but was able to be present at Y. M. 1741, shortly after which he passed to the North to attend to matters relating to house and estate, and died at Justice-town, 23 IV (June), 1742. His remains were buried in the Friends' Burial Ground in the city of Carlisle. The London *Daily Advertiser,* 28 June, 1742, noticed his death and gave a eulogy on his life and work (see *The Irish Friend* (1837), I. 112). The Testimony of Carlisle M. M. described him as "a truly great and evangelical Minister," and Cumberland Q. M. endorsed this, adding: "He died in good unity with us."

The following character of Thomas Story is taken from a letter of Isaac Norris, dated at Philadelphia, 1699, where Roger Gill and Thomas Story then were on a religious visit. After having mentioned the former in terms of great respect and affection, he proceeds:

"Thomas seems to take much with strangers, as being very intelligable to the most curious observer, and delivers his matter safe from the most captious Critic. He was bred a Lawyer, but has laid that aside for the Gospel,—his conversation as a man, sweet, gentle, and extremely affable, his spirit as a Christian extraordinary humble, I have observed him to watch even against his own abilities, least they should appear to exalt him in the opinion of any,—but I shall forbear" (*Norris Family Letters,* II. 43, in Library of Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia).

By his will Thomas Story left instructions for his *Journal* to be printed under the direction of certain trustees. The printing was the work of Isaac Thompson and Co. of Newcastle-on-

Tyne, in 1747, 800 copies costing £583.10.0 (*Journal,* account affixed to title page). Many copies were distributed gratis. The special copy in D is described in the introduction to the Letters.

The author has confined himself very largely to a record of his missionary travels and frequent controversies. We have not found any reference to his marriage or to his wife. "Though the Author was known to be a Man of excellent Understanding and extensive Learning and had particularly applied part of his Time to the Study of Natural History, and the physical Explanation of Things, yet we do not find any disquisitions nor Observances of this kind brought into his *Journal,* though opportunities seem not to have been awanting if he had thought it proper to have made any Use of them" (Introduction to *Journal*). There are *lacunae* in his *Journal* from 1705 to 1709 and between 1720 and 1727. During the latter period occur the troublesome affairs and lawsuits referred to earlier. A very full manuscript index, prepared by Joseph J. Green in 1899, is in D; also the original materials used in the preparation of the *Journal.*

An abridgment of the *Journal,* made by John Kendall, appeared in 1786 and another by William Alexander, in two volumes, in 1832. Selections from the *Journal* appeared in "Friends' Library" by Allen, 1836 and by Evans in 1846 A volume of anecdotes, etc., was published in Philadelphia in 1860. Brief lives of Story were written by Charlotte Fell-Smith, in *Dictionary of National Biography,* by Ferguson, in *Early Cumberland and Westmorland Friends,* 1871, by Frances A. Budge in *Annals* of *the Early Friends,* 1877, by Katharine C. Rhoads in *Quaker Biographies,* Phila. vol. III. (1909), and by Maude Robinson in *Wedded in Prison,* 1925.

Norman Penney.

Friends House,
Euston Road
London, N. W. 1.
Tenth Month 1926.

LETTERS

LETTER ONE

James Logan to Thomas Story

quarto 2 pp.
addressed:
To Thomas Story
endorsed:
London rec^{d} & for-
warded per thy
ffr^{d} J. Askew

Philad^{ia}, 25th 8^{ber}, 1724

T. Story,

Esteemed ffriend.

After an easie voyage of seven weeks and two dayes from Lond, It pleased God to restore me to my family, whom I found all in health; but in about 3 weeks after, I was visited with a severe Distemper, a kind of feaver of w^{ch} several died here, that brought me, in the Opinion of those about me, to the brink of y^{e} grave, nor have I yet fully recovered my former State, tho' thro' mercy I am at present in a fairer way for it than ever before.

It was no small trouble to me, as I divers times express'd it to thee from Lond, that I had not the happiness to see thee there. I have not at present treated with thy Attorneys about thy House[1] further than to take a Lease of it for 3 years more at y^{e} same Rent, for tho' Lands and Houses were much faln in Value here before I went for Engl^{d}, as I particularly wrote to thee, yet our Paper money makes it up in some measure since the last quantity was struck, and therefore I design to make no further

[1]This may have been Story's house on Second Street which he received as part of his wife's marriage-dower. He sold it to James Logan later (*Penn and Logan Correspondence*, I. 358, note by Deborah Logan).

words about it. This last Voyage has rather confirmed me in Trade than otherwise, and therefore I am willing to continue in y^e^ same place, having made it as convenient as I could for my business, at my own charge, as long as I shall follow it.

Thou knows what I wrote to thee of a family in town in relation to this affair, and if thou continues the same thoughts as expressed in thy Answer to that Lett^r^, Edw^d^,[2] who is now very

[2]This was, probably, Edward Shippen (1703-1781), who was brought up by James Logan and joined him in partnership in 1732. Besides being mayor (in 1745) he was a Judge of the County Court. His later home was in Lancaster, Pa. He married Sarah Plumley. His father was Joseph Shippen (1678/9-1741), and his grandfather, Edward Shippen (1639-1712), whose daughter, Ann, married Thomas Story in 1706. He was known as "Edward Shippen of Lancaster," and was founder of Shippensburg, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania.

Shippen Papers are in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.; *Hannah Logan's Courtship; Penna. Magazine,* Jan. 1926.

Edward Shippen, (1639-1712) was born in Yorkshire and came to Boston, Mass., in 1668, removing to Philadelphia in 1693. He married, first, Elizabeth Lybrand, in 1671, by whom he had sons Edward and Joseph, and daughter Ann who married Thomas Story in 1706. His second wife was a widow, Rebecca Richardson (Mrs. Francis Richardson) and in 1699 "Edward Shippen and his wife Rebecca" are mentioned in the *Life of William and Alice Ellis,* London, 1849. The third wife was Esther, the widow of Philip James, who brought one child with her. The proposals for this marriage had been laid before Philadelphia M. M., but final permission for the marriage to take place was withheld, owing to circumstances which came to light while the matter was before the Meeting. The wedding took place, however, and on 6 mo. 30, 1706, the M. M. ordered Shippen and his wife to be "labored with" and to discontinue to hold evening meetings at their house. Extracts from a letter from James Logan to William Penn, Junr., dated "August 12, 1706," being omitted portions of the letter printed in *Penn and Logan Correspondence,* II. 158, have been kindly supplied from the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, but they cannot well be given here. The matter ended satisfactorily, for we read in a letter from James Logan to William Penn, 19 V. 1708: "E. Shippen has been a long time fully restor'd amongst fr^ds^ & therefore, since he acts for thee as before, May claim y^e^ same regard as formerly" *(Bulletin F. H. S.* VII. 24). There is a portrait of E. Shippen in *Hannah Logan's Courtship,* p. 262; but as to identity of the same, see *Portraits of the Founders,* Boston, 1919, II. 587.

near out of his time with me, and who can expect but very little Patrimony from his father's imprudent Managem^{t}, will really deserve thy Regards, besides some other Children that I think are all hopeful. But be that as it will, I would still be Occupant, either as Tenant, or otherwise if thou shouldst resolve to sell. In the mean time I am much perplexed about repairs. My wife[3] can no longer be reconciled to the Kitchin, w^{ch} by reason of its smalness, has ever been inconvenient, but is now so much decay'd that it cannot well be otherwise mended than by a new one, w^{ch} I would build in another form, and carry y^{e} yard beyond the 2 walnut trees, w^{ch} tis a pity to cut down, but now spread so large a top that there can nothing of a Garden thrive under them. But this would cost at least a hund^{d} p^{ds}, for the Pump also must be removed, and so ought the little-house, All w^{ch} I would doe with my own money, provided I could have a Security of enjoying it at the value the House now bears, w^{ch} I assure thee wants more Repairs within doors than I can have the face to putt upon a Landlord.

The whole with me turns upon this, that it better suits my Circumstances in Business to pay the Rent yearly than to part with so much as the Purchase Money out of my stock; however, I shall leave the matter wholly to thy self, now I have so fully explain'd it, and thou may sett thy own terms, depending on it, that they will be as reasonable as thou canst make them.

[3]Sarah (Read) Logan (-) had seven children, three of whom died young. The survivors were Sarah (1715-1744), married Isaac Norris, Junr., in 1739; William (1718-1776), married Hannah Emlen in 1740/1; Hannah (1719/20-1761), married John Smith in 1748; and James (1728-1803), married Sarah Armitt. The father thought that his children took more after their mother than himself (Letter XI), and to this Story replied in Letter XII. Story wrote of Mrs. Logan as his "very dear friend." She frequently appears in the Letters and also in *Hannah Logan's Courtship*. She is credited with letters from 1730 to 1783 in the manuscript department of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Sally,[4] besides her needle, has been learning ffrench, and this last week has been very busie at Plantation in y^e^ Dairy in which she delights as well as in spinning, but is this Mom^t^ at y^e^ table w^th^ me (being first day afternoon & her Mother abroad) reading y^e^ 34^th^ Psalm in hebrew, the letters of w^ch^ she learned very perfectly in less than 2 hours time, an experiment I made of her capacity only for my Diversion, tho' I never design to give her that or any other learned Language unless the french be accounted such. She heartily thanks thee for thy kind Present. My wife joyns with me in our sincere Respect from

Thy Affectionate fr^d^,

James Logan.

[4]Sarah Logan, Junr. (1715-1744), was the elder surviving daughter. She is frequently mentioned in the Letters—a well-grown girl in mind and body. Letter X was addressed to her by Story and her reply appears as Letter XI. In 1739 she married Isaac Norris, the younger (1701-1766), son of Isaac, Senr., who married, in 1694, Mary, daughter of Thomas Lloyd (*Norris Family,* Trenton, N. J., 1882, p. 3). Her husband was "one of the ablest of the Colonial statesmen of Pennsylvania" (*Hannah Logan's Courtship,* p. 131n). Their daughter, Mary, married John Dickinson (1732-1808), of Revolutionary fame.

LETTER TWO

James Logan to Thomas Story

quarto 3 pp.
addressed:
ffor Thomas Story
To be left at Isaac
Huntington's
In Carlisle

Philad[ia], 29[th] 7[br], 1729.

Thomas Story,
Esteemed Friend.

I am favoured with thine of y[e] 25[th] 2[mo], representing to me the present State of Affairs between us, by which I find thou hadst rec[vd] no more than one hundred pounds Sterl tow[ds] Paym[t] for thy House. I confess I have no right to be angry with J. Askew[5] for not making the 2[d] Paym[t] there in time, because he is not at this time, nor has of late been in my Debt; I expected, however, that it had been done, and if instead of forwarding the second Sett of Deeds to me directly from there, w[ch] I find thou proposed to doe, by J. Cowman[6], of whom we hear nothing further, they had been sent up to Jn[o] Askew, he would undoubtedly, I believe,

[5]"John Askew was a merchant of considerable account in London; he transacted much business with my grandfather, Isaac Norris, also with James Logan, Jonathan Dickinson, and with the most respectable merchants there; he was in this country at the time of the Proprietor's arrival" (note by Deborah (Norris) Logan to *Penn and Logan Correspondence*). He received a certificate for England from Philadelphia M. M., XII. 1698/9, after the reading of his certificate *from* England; and in 1700 he was certified to Europe again *(Publ. Pa. Gene. Soc.* IV. VI). His death in 1730 was a loss to Logan (Letter IV) and also to Story (Letter VI).

[6]Jeremiah Cowman was frequently entrusted with papers and letters to be carried across the Atlantic. He seems to have been a Friend— the *Publ. Pa. Gen. Soc.* I. 69, record his attendance at a wedding at New Garden, Pa., 30 VII. 1725.

Other messengers were Nathan Cowman (Letter II), Captain Nicholson (Letters IV. VI), Joseph Champion (Letter XIV), Captain Wright (Letter XIX), Captain Tiffin (Letter XXI).

have paid thee on the Receipt of them, but all I can now doe is to order that 2^{d} Payment of £106 with Interest from y^{e} 25th of Decemb^{r} last, which I hope will be punctually complied with this Winter.

The last Paym^{t} of the other 300^{li} of our Money, if I remember right, is due this day, and yet, much contrary to my Intention, I have paid none of it; Thy Attorney, indeed, if I mistake not, did not expect any of it, till I should receive the Deeds, yet I design'd otherwise. But the Truth is I have been much embarass'd in my Affairs, & have of late mett with heavy Disappointm^{ts}. Since thou went from hence, I very considerably, thro' a course of favourable Providences, encreased my Substance; at length I resolved to try a Method for securing a reputable Income by means that might at y^{e} Same time be advantageous to the Public, w^{ch} was by carrying on one fourth part of a large Iron-work,* w^{ch} I expected, on a very rational Calculation, would, for laying out a thous^{d} p^{ds} at the beginning, bring a sufficient Profit on the subsequent disbursem^{ts} to afford me, with the Product of my Plantation, to which I am now retiring with my family, a reasonable Support. But now after expending about £1800, by the Shallowness of Delaware below our Work, w^{ch} stands seventy Miles above this place by Water, tho' not above 45 by Land, and for want of sufficient ffreight for Engl^{d}, with the fall of our Pig-metal there, I am likely to be intirely disappointed. I have also unhappily run into a much greater Expence in building a house on my Plantation than I intended; besides that, I am now obliged to buy here all the Materials I expected for it from Engl^{d}, thro' the Loss of Nath. Cowman[7] last winter with my Lett^{rs} and Orders & about 180^{li} of our Money of my Effects. These

*Durham Furnace, near Easton, Pa.

[7]Nathan Cowman, another transatlantic messenger, was a member of Philadelphia M. M. He was captain of the *Sizargh*, of Philadelphia, in 1728, when his vessel, with Susanna Morris and Joseph Taylor aboard, had such a terrible crossing to Europe (*The Friend* (Phila.), vol. 31 (1858), p. 180. In the Philadelphia M. M. minutes, 29 X. 1732, "Nathan Cowman, and Mary Shute declared their intentions of marriage," he producing a certificate from Pardshaw M. M. in Cumberland. A month later, the marriage was passed, despite some obstruction put in the way and afterwards withdrawn. In 1739, Mary Cowman, widow, proposed re-marriage.

with divers other concurring Disappointm^{ts} in Trade, w^{ch} shew the utter uncertainty of all humane Projects, have made, and perhaps will make me more delatory in the Paym^{ts} here than I expected. I design, however, this ffall to pay One hundred pounds, and the rest, I hope, in a moderate time, and perhaps as fast as it can be remitted, for tho' these are cross Accidents, they doe not yet disable me. I am indeed apprehensive of yet greater [loss?] but however it happens thou wilt be very secure, unless the whole Country should be ruined.

I should not have been so particular in these on acco^{t} of y^{e} Pay^{mts} of 300^{li} only of our Money had I not an Inclination to be free with thee as a friend, in communicating the State of my Affairs. I have now 4 Children again, 2 of each sort (besides 2 boyes & 1 Girl dead) ; thy young fr^{d}, as thou calls her, is as tall as her Mother, my youngest boy, near 12 Mo^{ths} old, is promising, his elder brother disappoints me, having no genius for Learning. I formerly told thee my Plantation is the next to Germantown on this side. I have built a large brick house on it of 51 f^{t} by 40, two good Stories in heigth, very convenient and not unsightly, if it stood better. I expected to have been in it before this time, but being not fully plaister'd, I now know not whether we shall get thither before winter. I made a great Mistake in building it, I design'd it a plain cheap ffarmers Stone house, but my Quarries intirely failed me. It then lay 2 years to find others, but none could be had that would not cost me dearer than brick. I therefore resolved on this; the Model and Disposition naturally drew on ornam^{t}, and the whole will as naturally draw on an expence by Visitants w^{ch} will by no means suit me. I must however retire, being now wholly reduced to a pair of Crutches and Sedentary Life by a ffall off my feet in my Yard, 16th 11mo, 1727/8, w^{ch} broke off the round head of my left thigh-bone, close by y^{e} joynt, and not one of our surgeons could guess at the Ail till long after a Callus had grown out between the fractured parts, w^{ch} renders it impossible now for them to unite again, and therefore I have not even the remotest prospect of a Cure, and, which is still more melancholy, it rather grows weaker and more painful, than gathers any strength, so that,

except my family can afford me any comfort within doors, I am not likely to know any other in Life during the Remainder of it, of whatever duration it may please God to order that to be.

On the 4th Instant we lost our valuable friend, R^d^ Hill,[8] after some Months weakness, & in less than 10 months after his Marriage to N. Standbury's[9] Daughter, bred up in his house by his former Wife, a vertuous young Woman, for whom he

[8]Captain Richard Hill (-1729) was a native of Maryland. He spent most of his early life on the sea. He settled in Philadelphia and was a very helpful Friend. For twenty-five years he was a member of the Governor's Council, several times Speaker of the Assembly, and three times Mayor of the City. During the last ten years of his life he was one of the Provincial Judges (Proud, *Hist. of Pa.* 1797, I. 473). With Isaac Norris, James Logan and Jonathan Dickinson, he stood for the Proprietary interests. He was an overseer of the William Penn Charter School, 1711. He gave Samuel Keimer £121 towards the printing of an edition of Sewel's *History of Friends.* Hill is noted in connection with the refusal to pay a tax or toll imposed without authority, by Governor Evans, on all vessels navigating the river. A vessel, on which he, Samuel Preston, and William Fishbourn sailed, successfully passed the fort though fired at by all its guns, and finally made an unwilling passenger of the commander of the fort, who had followed in pursuit (*Penn and Logan Correspondence,* II. 211, 241; Proud, *Hist. of Pa.* I. 473; etc.) Hill's first wife was Hannah Delavall (d. 1726/7), widow of that prominent Friend, John Delavall (d. 1693), and daughter of Thomas Lloyd. William Penn hastened to Philadelphia to be at the wedding of her whom he subsequently called "Captain Hill's lovely wife" (*Penn and Logan Correspondence,* I. 19). There is a printed memorial of the dying sayings of their daughter, Hannah, who died in 1714, aged eleven. All five children died unmarried. Mary Stanbury, daughter of Nathan, was his second wife, whom he married toward the end of 1728.

[9]Nathan Stanbury was mayor of Philadelphia in 1706. He was also an Overseer of the William Penn Charter School in 1711, and an active Friend. In 1717, there was some difficulty before Philadelphia M. M. between Stanbury and William Fishbourn respecting descendants of Jonas Langford, of Antigua (*c.* 1632-1712). In 1699, intentions of marriage between Nathan Stanbury and Mary Ewer were presented to the Monthly Meeting.

provided well; he was very kind also to Tho: Lloyd's[10] Widow and her Children, now all here, and to Lloyd Zachary,[11] but left most of y^e^ rest of his Estate to his brother, Hen: Hill's ffamily.

I am, with respect,

Thy assured ffriend,

J. Logan.

My Wife & eldest Daughter give their kind Love to thee. E. Shippen, my late Apprentice, comes into this house & my business.

* * *

LETTER THREE

James Logan to Thomas Story

quarto 1½ pp.
addressed:

ffor Thomas Story
to be left with Isaac
Huntington
In Carlis^le^

endorsed:

Ans^d^ y^e^—28^th^—1^st^—1730

Philad^la^, 7^th^ 11^mo^, 1729/30.

My friend, Tho. Story.

Upon occasion of thy last I have wrote largely to thee of late, and a good deal I doubt which might properly have been Spared.

[10]Thomas Lloyd (1640-1694) came to America in 1683, with wife, four sons and five daughters. His daughters married men of prominence (see *Lineage of the Lloyd and Carpenter Family,* by C. P. Smith, Camden, N. J. 1870 (the author is in error regarding the wives of Thomas Lloyd); *Portraits of the Founders,* 2 vols. Boston, 1919, p. 281). Only one of his sons left descendants, Thomas, born 1675, who married Sarah Young. Their son, Mordecai, married Hannah Fishbourn and had a daughter, Hannah, who married James Pemberton in 1751 (Smith, *ibid.*).

The reference in Letter II may be to Sarah, wife of Thomas, 2nd, or to Susanna, wife of Thomas, 3rd.

[11]"Lloyd Zachary, a distinguished physician in Philadelphia, was the only son of Daniel Zachary, and his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Lloyd. Upon the death of his wife [in 1704] the father went home to England, and died shortly after arrival" (note by Deborah (Norris) Logan to *Penn and Logan Correspondence,* I. 348).

This now comes to inform thee that I have paid off my first Bond for £100 with Interest to y^e^ 25^th^ of last Month, viz. £113 10s., at 6 p C^t^, according to our Law pass'd in 1723. And very shortly I design to take up another of them. In the Paym^t^ of that first, I came to a full settlem^t^ with W^m^ ffishburn,[12] for the 9 years and a half w^ch^ I lived in y^e^ House on Rent, and found I had over paid about 30^li^ w^ch^ was then discounted. About 18^li^ of this was owing to Sam^l^ Powel's[13] charging in his Acc^t^ with me, what I thought he had carried to W^m^ ffishbourn's, for the Repairs

[12]William Fishbourn appears frequently in the Letters in connection with financial matters between Logan and Story. In Armistead's *James Logan,* pp. 23, 57, we read: "William Fishbourn, a worthy Friend, was a member of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, in 1716, and subsequent years." The Letters cause us to revise this estimate of Fishbourn. Letter VIII refers to his dismissal from the Assembly. To Philadelphia M. M. 13 VI. 1739, came a paper from Fishbourn, "condemning his scandalous practices." William Fishbourn, formerly of Tredhaven, Md., married, in 1701, Hannah Carpenter, eldest daughter of Samuel Carpenter (*c.* 1650-1714) and Hannah Hardiman (1646-1728). In the grangerised *Journal of Thomas Story* there is a letter from Hannah Fishbourn, dated 3 11 mo. 1712/13. Smith, *Lloyd and Carpenter Family,* p. 62, states that Hannah (Carpenter) Fishbourn died in 1742, but in Letter IV we read of the re-marriage of William Fishbourn about 1730. In *The Thomas Book,* New York, 1896, we find that Jane, daughter of Edward Roberts, married William Fishbourn and had two children, Samuel and Sarah. As his widow she married John Galloway in 1744 and had a daughter, Jane, who married Joseph, son of the Edward Shippen mentioned in Letters I and II. Jane (Fishbourn) Galloway died in 1747/8.

[13]This was, probably, Samuel Powel (1673-1756), a cooper, in Philadelphia. In 1700, he married Abigail, daughter of Barnabas and Sarah Wilcox. Their children were Sarah, Samuel and Deborah. Sarah became Morris and Deborah became the wife of Joshua Emlen (d. 1776) and mother of Samuel Emlen (1730-1799).

Samuel Powel, Junr. (d. 1747), was a man of means; he bequeathed to Friends the principal part of the site of the Pine Street Meetinghouse (*Arch Street Meeting House,* 1904, pp. 22, 30). His father may have become possessed of much of his son's property, but he was not so generous, apparently. John Smith writes under date 15 XI. 1749: "Sam^l^ Powel displeased me more than anybody else, because with an Estate worth, I suppose, £40,000, he Insisted upon it that his Circumstances would permit him to do but very little" for some charitable object. He gave £3 (*Hannah Logan's Courtship,* pp. 268, 269).

made between 1723 & 1727 by thy Attorneys Orders. I have in my former taken some Notice of these, I think. The articles were new Gates & Posts to y^e^ yard, and new fences to y^e^ Garden, the former being intirely decay'd, and a new Pump, w^ch^ had been promised divers years. I hinted also, as I remember, that my Wife had been long insisting to have the Hall inclosed, and gott thy Attorneys Consent to it; but never had mine till I bought y^e^ House, and then I did it at my own Charge, to y^e^ very great improvem^t^ of y^e^ House below stairs. I repeat this only to soften thy Notice of the Acc^t^ I have mention'd from Sam^l^ Powel. I doubt not but before this comes to hand thou wilt have recev'd the second hundr^d^ p^ds^ sterl., with Interest, from J. Askew. I would hasten the paym^t^ of the 3^d^ hund^d^ here, but it will not be for thy Advantage to have so much lie dead without Interest, till it can be remitted, w^ch^ is not now to be done easily; but when tis call'd for, I hope to have it ready, or p^r^haps before, for I love not to pay Interest. I wish I could see the Deeds here.

I am, very sincerely,
Thy real, well-wishing friend,
J. Logan.

My wife and her namesake give their kind Love to thee. The latter may shortly be as able to remember her absent fr^ds^ with her pen, as formerly with her needle; I am sure she is tall enough for it.

Postscr.

8^th^ 11^mo^.

Since the foregoing, that thou might by y^e^ Same Conveyance have an Acco^t^ I had done what I mention'd in this; I have now paid W ffishbourn £113 : 15 : for y^e^ Principal & Interest of my 2^d^ Bond, and there remains only the 3^d^ due. Pray take care on receiving the 2^d^ hundr^d^ p^ds^ Sterl. there with its Interest to Send over an Acc^t^ of it to William by two Conveyances at least, with full directions to him to deliver me the Bond I gave for it, viz. for the Paym^t^ of one hund^d^ p^ds^ Sterl in Lond, on y^e^ 25^th^ of Decem^b^, 1728, with one years Interest at 6 p C^t^, which must

also be paid for y^e^ time after that day, till y^e^ day of Paym^t^ in Lond, provided thou art not the occasion of its being delay'd. I wish the Deeds may come safe; I have as yet rec^vd^ none of them.

Thine, ut ante,
J. L.

* * *

LETTER FOUR

James Logan to Thomas Story

folio 3 pp. The first letter on the first page, with confirmation in another hand and original signatures. The second letter on the second page. The third letter in another hand and marked "copy" by J. Logan.
addressed:
For Thomas Story
To be left with Isaac
Huntington
In Carlisle
endorsed:
Ans^d^ y^e^ 5^th^ 2^mo^ 1731

Philad^la^, 21^st^ 9^mo^, 1730.

My ffr^d^, Tho: Story.

In my last, of which a Copy is on y^e^ other Leaf, I acquainted thee that the last hundred pounds due on my Bonds here with three years Interest had lain ready told out since y^e^ 29^th^ of Sept^br^ last, waiting for W^m^ ffishbourn's Call, but as he has not yet made it, which I cannot say I am much concern'd at, and as I am just now removing into the Countrey, where my Wife and family already are, I have, therefore, without keeping it any longer, resolved to pay it into the hands of thy other two Attorneys, Anth.

Morris[14] & Isra. Pemb,[15] with whom, tis thought here, it will be altogether as safe, & if Will[m] refuses on the sight of their Receipt to deliver me my Bond, I hope thou wilt be so kind by y[e] first Opportunity to order it. I wish also thou wouldst direct him to deliver them, or to one of them, my other Bond for the last hundred pounds Sterl mention'd in y[e] preceeding, & which ought so long since to have been paid, and shall be when I can have certain Information from Engl[d] what John Askew had done before his Decease.

This now paid thy Attorneys will be remitted, I suppose, as soon as Bills can be procured for it, but these being exceeding Scarce, A. Morris, in friendship to thee, designs so to order it as that it shall bring Interest till such time as it can be remitted.

If thou shouldst be at a loss to understand any thing I have wrote on these heads, perhaps the common News of this place, if it reach thee, may explain it, viz. That W. ff., as Trustee of y[e] Loan Office, having faln (as 'tis said) behind in his Acco[ts] above two thou:us[d] p[ds], was robb'd (as he said) of about that Sum 2 or 3 nights before he was to pay to y[e] new Trustees what was, or should have been in his hands of that publick Money. But

[14]Anthony Morris (1682-1763) was a son of the immigrant Anthony Morris (1654-1721), a merchant in Philadelphia, and the holder of several public offices. In 1704, he married Phoebe, a daughter of George and Alice Guest, and had a son of the same name who married Sarah, daughter of Samuel and Abigail Powel. There is an idyllic description of the home of a later Anthony, son-in-law of James and Sarah Pemberton, visited by Mary Pryor about the end of the eighteenth century, in her biography, printed 1887, p. 123. The mother of this home, Mary Morris, died about 1807.

[15]Israel Pemberton, Senr. (1684/5-1754), is mentioned many times in these Letters, mostly in relation to the business affairs of Thomas Story, for whom he acted as executor and attorney in America. He married, in 1710, Rachel Read, a sister of Sarah Read, wife of James Logan. Their surviving sons were the notable trio, Israel, James and John. Another son, Charles, mentioned in *Hannah Logan's Courtship,* died in 1748. "In 1812, there was only one male representative" (Comly, *Miscellany,* VII. 47).

who will regard Reports? There is more truth, perhaps, in my being

Thy Assured ffriend,
J. Logan.

Haveing seen the above, Confirm what relates to us therein.

Israel Pemberton,
Anth° Morris.

ffrom my Plantation near German-town, where I am now settled with my family, 25th 9br, 1730.

My ffrd, T. S.

The foregoing was wrote while A. Morris was telling the Money therein mentioned, viz. £118, wch last 7th day I paid to him and Isr. Pemb., and have their joynt Receipt for it. I have given thee several hints concerning thy Acting Attorney, W. ff., which being somewhat dark, excepting this last, thou may not prhaps clearly understand, & therefore shall here, for thy fuller information, since it in some measure concerns thee, be more plain.

W. ff., having for near 7 years been the principal Acting Trustee of ye four that were appointed for lending out and receiving in our Bills of Credit or Paper Money, as also Accomptant of the Loan Office, had for 6 years settled and got his Accots pass'd by Committees of the Assembly nominated for that purpose, who had but little Experience in Affairs of this kind, till some of that House, being dissatisfied, procured two persons of greater Skill to be added to the then Committee, who, unravelling all that had been done before, discovered that by an Artful Managemt (wch he would have palliated with the title of Mistakes only), he had sunk about 2 thousd pounds; yet such tenderness was shewn him as to give him an opportunity of supplying the Deficiency by borrowing, &c., to shew the Money in his hands. But as this was clearly enough understood by the more Judicious of the late House, he & two others of those Trustees were remov'd in Augst last, & others appointed. These also gave him time

to gett in Money, & had appointed to receive y^e^ whole from him some day, I know not w^ch^, in y^e^ last Week of Octob^r^. But on y^e^ 25^th^ (y^e^ first of y^e^ week) in the night, he declared he was robb'd. Divers Magistrates with others mett next morning to view y^e^ Room, & Window where he said they had broke in, as also the Chest that was broke open, who calling some Carpenters & Joyners, as Sam^l^ Powel, Jos: Claypoole,[16] &c., All that were present unanimously agreed it was a Sham, for that notwithstanding the Contrivances to give it the Colour of a Robbery in y^e^ Inside of y^e^ Room, yet nobody had pass'd in or out of that Window, and the Lock of the Chest instead of being burst open, had evidently been taken off with tools on y^e^ Inside while y^e^ Chest was open, & this they all unanimously declared, when, some dayes after, y^e^ matter was examined before the Gov^r^ & Council. The Deficiency discover'd last Winter did not appear till about two Weeks after I had paid off my two Bonds, otherwise I should have forborn it longer, but he sayes he has remitted most of that Money. I have, however, been more cautious in y^e^ last, for I first desir'd Bro^r^ Pemb. to take it, but he desired rather that A. M. should have it, upon w^ch^ they both went to W^m^, letting him know I would keep it no longer, and therefore, if he would deliver y^e^ Bond, they would take care that, till a Bill could be procured, it should be at Interest; but he answered that thou wanted y^e^ Money, & he would gett a Bill for it. But hearing nothing more of it, I have taken y^e^ Measures mention'd in the preceeding. About 14 Mo^ths^ since, he married a Daughter of Ed. Roberts. I think I told thee of his great Loss by fire last 2^d^ Mo^th^; w^ch^ he is now rebuilding, to enable him for w^ch^, he has sold I believe to y^e^ value of about 1200^li^. The Man is unhappy, yet very little pitied, tho' his Wife is, & the Robbery is made a jest of. All this to thy Self only, for Information, from

Thy real friend,

J. Logan.

[16]Joseph Claypoole (1677-1744) was born in London, son of James Claypoole (1634-1687), and came to America in 1683, with parents, brothers, sisters and servants (*Bulletin,* IV; Comly, *Miscellany,* I. 45). In 1703, he married Rebecca Jennings (d. 1715) and in 1716, he married Edith Ward (Graff, *Claypoole Family of Philadelphia,* 1893, pp. 62, 63). In his will he is styled "joiner."

Philadelphia, 18th 8br, 1730

My Friend,

Thomas Story.

I lately acknowledged thy care in sending thy Deed to me for the House, which I recevd by Good Capt Nicholson. I was also somewhat particular abt the last 100lbs I was to pay here, which, on the 28th Ultimo, ye day before that called Michaelmas, I told out with 18lbs more for 3 years Interest then due, & desired W. ffishbourne to come and receive it; but on something, I suppose, that past Between A Morris, Isr: Pemberton, & him in relation to it, he declines it, he sayes, till he can get a Bill for it. My Wife, however, told him it Lay told out and tied up, and if they Would not receive it, we should pay no more Interest.

Thou hast doubtless heard long since of the Unfortunate J. Askew's Death, who, we are told, broke his heart, & therefore I have two much reason to believe thou hast not recevd that other Sterl Paymt in wch we are both Unhappily disappointed. Thou may be sure that his decease, who was my settled Correspondt, cannot but Embarras my Affairs, tho' I hope I shall be no loser by him in the main, being pretty well secured in my own hands. But I am troubled I cannot be certain how that Affair stands wth thee, for in his last of 2 Mo he faithfully promised to pay thee; for if I were sure it were not done, tho' the state of my Affairs on this Shock wd Scarce allow me to pay it all, I would order one half of it immediately, & the other not long after. I have wrote very pressingly for my Accot, & when recd shall do thee full Justice, if it be still due in that Article. My wife & her namesake salute wth kind love, as does,

Thy assured frd,

J. L.

LETTER FIVE

James Logan to Thomas Story

folio 1½ pp.
addressed:
For Thomas Story
to be left with Isaac
Huntington
In Carlisle
endorsed:
rec^{d} ye 27th 12^{m}
Answ^{d} per Cowman, 5th 2^{m} 1731
And wrote to A. Morris &
I. Pemberton to acc^{t} with
W. F. for me &c
But these Letters falling short
came back & never went
hitherto ye 3rd 10^{br} 1731

Stenton, near Germantown, where I now live,
22 10^{br}, 1730.

Tho: Story,
Esteemed Friend.

Tho' I have put thee to the Charge of divers Lett^{rs} of late, I shall now add this further to acknowledge the Receipt of thine of y^{e} 21st & 22nd 6 Moth, directing me take upon myself the Remittance of the last hund^{d} p^{ds} & Interest due from me for y^{e} House, and to take up my Bond, for which Mark of thy Confidence in me, I return thee my thanks. But my last, wrote about 3 weeks since, to part of which I Pemb. & A Morris also subscribed, will, I hope, before this comes to hand, have fully inform'd thee, that I have already paid it to them. And, indeed, if I had not, as I am now circumstanced, I should have been at a Loss for means to return it, tho' once I could easily have done it; and if thou hadst thought of that method at first, it might have been considerably to thy Advantage, as well by saving thee some Charges as perhaps on another Acco^{t}, but this last Paym^{t} is safe.

Going last 7th day to town, I opportunely mett A Morris at Bror Pemberton's, to whom both together I communicated and deliver'd thine requesting them in my behalf, as they were joynt Attorneys, to shew it to W. ff., and desire him, pursuant to thy Directions, to deliver them my Bond for me, without owning they had recevd the Money, for this we thought would be less offensive to him. I was further desirous that he might see the whole Letter, in part of which thou observes (which surpriz'd us all) that thou hadst not heard from him these 3 years past. But we hope thou didst soon after that date, and that what he told A M and I P of his having remitted thee most of the Money I paid him last Winter, was true.

I am extreamly pleased with thy Accot of the Progress of Truth in Scotld. It will, I believe, and must obtain everywhere. Tyndal's[17] last wicked Book will (I imagine) make very great way for it, for as Man has naturally a Propensity to Religion, and they will have some, they will find none other left for them than the Spiritual, but I apprehend terrible Persecutions first, wch perhaps may be necessary to render those possess'd of Church Power more odious, I mean universally. I was much pleased with A Arscot's[18] little piece, wch we (viz. Bro. Pemb. and I) are reprinting here. I told thee by Cowman (as I remember) I was then sending my son Willm[19] to Alexr, under whose care he is now settled to our Satisfaction. My Wife and two Daughters (Hannah[20] ye youngest is near eleven) salute thee; my youngest boy[21] and namesake is hopeful, about 2 years & 2 or 3 Months old, being born within a Week of 9 Moths after I was hurt.

I am, with dear Love to thy Self,

Thy real friend,

J. Logan.

[17]Matthew Tindal (1653?-1733), "high churchman, catholic-deist," was a fellow of All Souls, Oxford. His best known work was *Christianity as Old as the Creation, or the Gospel a Republication of the Religion of Nature,* published in 1730. His aim was to shew that any positive religion was superfluous *(Dict. Nat. Biog.).* He styled himself "a Christian Deist."

[18]Alexander Arscott (*c.* 1677-1737) was the son of a clergyman of South Molton in Devonshire and was educated at Oxford University. He became a Friend while at the University. In 1699 he followed James Logan as master of the Bristol School and Workhouse (Knight, *Sidcot,* 1918, p. 3), and occupied this position for many years. He was clerk of London Y. M. in 1722, 1725, 1728, 1736. His principal writing was *Some Considerations relating to the Present State of the Christian Religion,* issued in three parts, 1730-1734. This book was criticised by Henry Pickworth, ex-Friend, in his *Short Account of Quakerism,* 1735. Benjamin Franklin reprinted parts one and two and Andrew Bradford, part three.

[19]William Logan (1718-1776), elder surviving son of James Logan, was sent to Europe at the age of twelve to be educated at the school of Alexander Arscott, in Bristol, near his uncle William. He was accompanied with a letter of good advice from his father. He married Hannah Emlen (1722-1777), daughter of George and Mary Emlen, in 1740/41. They had six children, one being Dr. George Logan (1753-1821), who inherited Stenton and married Deborah Norris (1761-1839) in 1781 (see Amelia M. Gummere in *Jnl. F. H. S.* II.), and another was Charles Logan, who married Mary Pleasants in 1779 and died in Virginia in 1794. William Logan "was a member of the City Council in Philadelphia for thirty years, and in 1747 he became a member of that of the Governor . . . His Quaker principles led him to decline to take any part in the Revolutionary struggle" (A. M. Gummere in *Jnl. F. H. S.* IX. 86). He was in Europe again in 1761 and was one of the twenty-four Friends who addressed King George III on his coronation and marriage (*Jnl. F. H. S.* XVIII. 41). Letters of his, original and copied, are in Friends' Library.

See *Dr. George Logan, of Stenton,* memoir by his wife, edited by his great-grand-daughter, Phila. 1899; Armistead's *James Logan,* p. 177; *Friends' Intelligencer,* Phila. 1 mo. 20, 1906.

[20]Hannah Logan (1719/20-1761) was the younger surviving daughter of James Logan. She figures largely in *Hannah Logan's Courtship,* which is the Diary of her husband, John Smith (*c.* 1722-1771), whom she married in 1748. There is a memorial of her, written by her husband, printed in *The Friend* (Phila.), vol. 33 (1859), p. 60. Their daughter, Hannah, married, as his first wife, John Cox, of Oxmead, N. J. (1754-1847). See *The Parrish Family,* Phila. 1925, pp. 246, 285, 288.

[21]James Logan, Junr. (1728-1803), is frequently mentioned in *Hannah Logan's Courtship* as "brother Jemmy Logan." He married Sarah Armitt (1733-), eldest daughter of Stephen Armitt and Sarah Whitpain, without issue (*Publ. Gene. Soc. Pa.* 1924, p. 47). On September 25, 1803, Elizabeth Drinker recorded the death of James Logan, Junr., and there is a note to page 380, of her *Journal*: "He was a widower for many years and kept house with no company but his servants."

LETTER SIX

Thomas Story to James Logan

folio 2 pp.
addressed:

To
James Logan
at Philadelphia
Pensilvania
Per Jer. Cowman

Carlisle, 2mo 5th, 1731.

James Logan,
Respected Friend.

I have thine of the 22nd 10br, p our Friend, Nicholson, by which I understand thou hast met with some disappointments, which, in consequence, in some respect affect me likewise. I did indeed absolutely depend on yt money according to agreemt, & the main end I had in parting with that House is now disappointed, but as unforeseen and unavoidable accidents attend the most honest & well formed designs & intentions of the best of men, I have no other view of the State of this Affair. But as I cannot proceed with my intended Building this Sumer, other matters of a differing nature interposing, I hope I may have what remains early next Spring at longest, & if I may depend upon it then, shall take measures in my business accordingly, & be easie; but if I should with that hope set forward in my building, & not have wherewith to answer my Credit (which is very good in this part of the world), it would be of ill consequence to my Self and others.

I had almost forgot to tell thee (being in some hast, preparing to set forward tomorrow morning towards a yearly Meeting at Chester, & prhaps that of Wales), that I have likewise thine of the 21st 9br, Subscribed by my Attorneys, Is: Pemberton & A. M., & am easie in yt matter, but nothing further from either of them about it; and if I have not time to write by this expected opprtunity, please to let them know they may make remittances as Soon as they can, & inspect the State of my accts with W. F.,

where, I fear, I shall meet with more disappointm^{t} than will well agree with the Circumstances of my affairs at this time. I never willingly selected him to be particular in the Concerns I left in their hands joyntly, & for some time Inscribed my letters to them all, tho' sup^{r}scribed to him, & found by degrees he answered all in his own Name, which gave me some apprehension that their own concerns would not allow their applycation to mine, yet above seven years ago (Anno 1721), I consigned £135-17-9 worth of Goods to them three, of which I don't remember any acc^{t} but that they laid unsold some years, till many of them p^{r}ished or became unsalable (he s^{d}), of which 'tis probable he never appris'd them. This mixture I hope thou wilt excuise.

Things remain well in Scotland, & I hope will continue & increase, our Meetings being still Crouded in Edenburgh, &c. And some attempts have been of late, & in some degree Subsisting, in Parliam^{t}, ag^{t} some part of the Interest of the Clergy, & our ffriends have been Secretely moving with some at Helm, for further ease ag^{t} their destructive p^{r}ceedings in y^{e} Excheq^{er}, but some particulars are given to understand, that this time is not thought Seasonable for any thing of y^{t} kind, when so much indoustry is used to infuse into the Populace a jealousie & dislike of the p^{r}sent Establishm^{t}, yet it plainly appears, that many in this Nation, of all ranks, are falen in with us, in Our Sentiments of the Clergy & Tyths, & not remote from our way of thinking, concerning the Principles of Truth we profess (which some call Eternal Reason), but are Stumbled at what they call our Particularitys & narrowness, for which they, in their reason, cannot account, or conceive how these should be a necessary Effect of that. Tindal's book, or Alexand^{ers} I have not seen, but heard of, under as differing Charracters as they arise from Springs & views. But why may not the Grand Adversary of Humain kinde be p^{r}mitted to advance his whole power and cunning, in defence of himself & kingdom, now drawing to a period, That all Nations may see him fairly and fully Conquer'd, by the Power, wisdom, and brightness of the Coming & Appearance of Michael the Prince. These things are no Surprize at all to me; tho', as thou app^{r}hends, 'tis not improbable that some sharp p^{r}secution may

preceed, of which (if not averted in mercy) the Clergy, of all Sorts, will be the chief instruments, and Trimpiters of Satan to the fatal battel; Fatal, I say, not to Religion, but as a final period and demolition to that which hath been calld so under various Shapes, but falsly.

I am much concern'd for thy Disappointm^{t} in the last Sterl Paym^{t}, in which we have both been very unfortunate as thou may clearly see by the following acco^{t} of it.

Tho' by my Agreem^{t} I was to make no paym^{t} till y^{e} Deeds were executed, upon w^{ch} the first Sterl Paym^{t} was to be made, yet since thou hadst done y^{m} tho' imperfectly, as J A weakly imagin'd, in expectation of having them perfected, I directed John to make y^{e} 2^{d} in due time, w^{ch} should have been 25 10^{br}, 1728, but finding he was in Straits had neglected it, on J Steel's going over last fall I ordered him to receive 100^{lbs} (y^{e} Principal) from another hand, and taking y^{e} Interest from some other Money he had of mine, to compleat y^{e} Paym^{t}, & bring y^{e} Deeds wth him. Accordingly James rec^{vd} the Money, but meeting with a good bargain of Land, he thought it more adviseable to lay it out in that, for himself & me, w^{ch}, notwithstanding, he did not venture on, till J Askew, who then seem'd to have surmounted his troubles, faithfully promised him to pay thee the Money, and take care of y^{e} Deeds. When inform'd of this, on J Steel's Return, y^{e} 25th 5mo last, tho' I had good hopes J A would p^{r}-form his promise, yet the better to enable him for it, I sent him not long after Bills for 200^{lbs} Sterl, but he was dead, and now, if rece^{vd}, they will Sink into our Acco^{t} to be settled I know not when. So that I am exceedingly perplex'd not only in this but my other Affairs in Britain, and so much that I shall not be able to gett the Money to thee in some time; I hope, however, in less than 12 Mo^{ths} thou shalt have the whole, tho' at present I am not in a Condition to order one Penny there, for having been in partnership with J Askew in the Indian Trade, his troubles first, & then his death, have exceedingly embarass'd me (tho' I shall not absolutely lose by him), & reduced me to great Straits in my Business on that Side. Thou may, however, Assure thy self of being punctually paid, tho' not in due time as I ever design'd it.

If I touch at Bristol in this intended journey, I shall se thy son & brother, the later is my acquaintance, & I think it will not be disagreeable to se the other. And as to those at home, my very dear friend, S. Logan, her Namesake, & younger Sister, I am pleasd with their kinde remembrance, & being rich in innocent and sincere affection to them all, I return a full ballance, desiring it may be acceptable, as also to thyself from

Thy sincere Friend,

Tho Story.

My Love to my good fr[d], I N.[22] & his.

* * *

LETTER SEVEN

James Logan and Israel Pemberton to Thomas Story

quarto 1⅓ pp. The first letter on first page. Israel Pemberton's letter on third page.
addressed:

To Thomas Story
to be left at Isaac Huntington's
In Carlisle

endorsed:

Answ[d] 4[th] 11[mo] 173½

Stenton (my Plantation),
T. Story, 20[th] 2[mo], 1731.

Respected ffriend.

On y[e] 16[th] Inst. I was favour'd with thine of—— (I can't just now meet with it, but I think it was of y[e] 9[mo]), acknowledging the Receipt of several of mine, but I find my Proposal of paying thee y[e] Remaining Bond, due in Lond, at twice will not suit thee. I therefore now desire thee to draw a Bill on my Brother, Will[m]

[22]Presumably, Isaac Norris, Senr. (1671-1735), who married Mary Lloyd (1674-1748), daughter of Thomas Lloyd, in 1694. Portraits of Isaac and Mary appear in *Portraits of the Founders,* 2 vols. Boston, Mass. 1919. "James Logan, in a letter to William Penn, in 1706, refers to Norris as the man he knew and loved best of any man in the Province, and then mentions 'that lovely-tempered woman, his wife'." (*ibid.*)

Logan, M.D.,[23] in Bristol for the Money, in the form below, and it will be paid in case he can receive it there as I have proposed. I would have two sent, first & second, for the safety of Conveyance to me with a Receipt when paid, on the first, as also the same Receipt of the first acknowledg'd on the 2^{d}, that with one of these, when rece^{vd} here, I may take my Bond now lodged with W^{m} ffishb. And I desire that 20 dayes Sight may be given, that my Bro^{r} may have the more time to get the Money, as also that, if not paid, it may not be processed; therefore be pleas'd to send them (they may both goe in y^{e} same Lett^{r}) to some particular Friend there, as Rd Champion,[24] &c, who may negociate it for thee, & perhaps without Charge. I cannot adjust the Sum. The Bond was due (I think) y^{e} 25th of 10^{br}, 1728, with one years Interest, w^{ch} by Law is there at 5 p C^{t}, but doe thou settle it, as thou thinks fitt. I have mention'd to him £117: 10:; and w^{ch}, I hope, will satisfy; he will not, however, pay above £120, & this it self, I believe, is more than thou wilt desire. I shall be extreamly pleas'd, if this is answer'd, if otherwise, it is not for want of Endeavours to make thee easie, in

Thy Assured ffr^{d},

J. Logan.

[23]William Logan, M. D. (1686-1757), brother of James, resided in Bristol, England. He was helpful to his brother in both financial and scientific matters. Portraits of the doctor and his wife, a lady named Parsons, appear in *Hannah Logan's Courtship*. He left his library of 1300 books to his nephew, William. He left no descendants.

Armistead, *James Logan*, p. 105; *John Jay Smith*, p. 341; *Jnl. F. H. S.* VII. 48, IX. 86; Fox, *Dr. Fothergill*, London, 1919.

[24]Richard Champion (*c.* 1675-1747) was a prominent Bristolian. He was the second treasurer of the Bristol Royal Infirmary. He married, first, in 1702, Sarah Finny, and second, Esther Palmer, of Flushing, L. I. in 1711, she being on a religious visit to Great Britain. She died in 1714. Champion was a close friend of Samuel Bownas (1676-1753), the Minister. He is described as soap-maker, perhaps a successor to Charles Jones, Senr. and Junr. Richard Champion, the potter (1743-1791), was a grandson.

At 20 dayes sight of this my first Excha. Pay to . . . . . or Ord[r] One hund[d] & . p[ds] due to me from thy Brother, James Logan, of Philad[ia], on his Bond given me in 1727, for the Paym[t] of One hundred pounds with Interest in 1728, which Paym[t] of y[e] s[d] £1 . . will be in full of 600[lbs]; and all other Demands from me on thy said Brother for the House and Lott in Philad[ia] that I have sold him, & place it to his Acco[t] as p advice from himself. To W. L., Doct[r] of Physick, in Bristol.

In y[e] 2[d] Bill add [my first of y[e] same tenour and date not paid] & desire thy fr[d] to indorse that 2[d] as I have proposed (tho not usual) for y[e] reason I have given.

Please to turn to I. P.'s.

Philad[ia] the 21 2[mo], 1731.

Esteemed ffr[d],

Thos. Story.

This is at the Request of Brother Logan, to acquaint that when he setled with W[m] Fishbourn, he Took up two of his bonds, w[ch] he gave, on thy acco[t], when he bought thy house; another bond he paid to Anthony Morris, soe that there now only Remains that one bond, w[ch] he is to pay thee there.

I am, with D[r] Love,

Thy assured ffr[d],

* * * Israel Pemberton.

LETTER EIGHT

James Logan to Thomas Story

quarto 1 page. Separate slip of draft receipt and of draft letter Story to Fishbourn.

addressed:

For Thomas Story
In Cumberland
to the care of Jer. Cowman

endorsed:

Answ[d] 4[th] 11[th] 173½ Stenton, 20[th] 7[br], 1731.

Thomas Story,

Esteemed Friend.

I have wrote divers Lett[rs] to thee this last Spring & Summer, in y[e] latest of which I gave thee an expectation of receiving from

my Brother in Bristol the Pay for my last Bond for £100 Sterl, to which I desired 20^{lbs} might be added for the Interest. By a Lett^{r} of y^{e} 20th 3mo from honest Benj. Holme,[25] then at Bristol yearly Meeting, I understood thou also was there, but none of my Letters could by that time be come to hand, that touch'd on that Subject on the foot I last mention'd. If those Letters have been duly rec^{vd}, I hope my Brother has made no scruple to answer my Request, for tho' I desired some time of him for remittance, what I now Ship by Cap^{t} Cowman with what within these few Months I sent before, if all arrive safe, I hope will fully clear the whole, if he has comply'd, that will lie only between him & me.

On Receipt of the Money, I desire thee without any loss of time to favour me with at least 2 Orders to W^{m} ffishbourn (by several Conveyances) to deliver me my Bond; be pleas'd also to write so fully on the same head in thy Lett^{ers} to me, as that there may be no room left for dispute. I write not this that I have any particular Suspicion that W. ff. on his late misfortunes would attempt to injure me more than before, but things of this kind should be fully issued as soon as the Nature and Circumstances will admit.

That unhappy man, or his family at least, is certainly much to be lamented. Thou hast heard that for his breach of Trust the Assembly disabled him from holding any Office for 5 years to come, & now within these few weeks, notwithstanding his having married a very comely young Wife, the Meeting has publickly disown'd him again for his scandalous continuance of his former vicious practices. What shall we say to such shocking Instances of fatality, or something I know not what! for the man knows better, and wishes, I believe, to be above it, if he could. But I must leave what is out of my depth, and refer it to thy Solu-

[25] Benjamin Holme (1683-1749) was a great preacher and writer. In 1706 he moved his residence from Penrith in Cumberland, to York. He was thirty-four years of age when he came to America, and traveled in the Colonies for about four years. His *Serious Call in Christian Love,* first printed in 1725, went through many editions in English and other languages. Many of his letters are extant.

tion. In primitive times it would have been called a Devil of Uncleanness, fitt to be abjured, but I understand it not, for the longer I live, y^e^ more ignorant (I find) I grow. I still know, however that I am still very much

Thy friend,
J. Logan.

Rec^d^ of W^m^ Logan, of the City of B., Doct^r^ in Physic, by Ord^r^ of his Brother, James Logan, of the City of P., in the Province of P., in America, and on acc^t^ of y^e^ said J. L., the sume of One hundred & twenty one pounds of Lawfull money of Great Britain, the s^d^ sume being due to me from the s^d^ J. L. on his Bond bearing date in September, 1727, for the paym^t^ of the Sume of One hundred pounds of like money, with Interest at Six p Cent for one year, which, by the tenor of y^e^ Condicon of s^d^ Bond, should have been paid at London on y^e^ twenty-fifth day of December, 1728; and which s^d^ sume of £121 is in full of the s^d^ sume of One hundred pounds and all Interest therefore & in full also of the sume of six hundred pounds & all other demands from me on the s^d^ J. L. for the House I sold him in Philad^ia^ afores^d^, Witness my hand, at Bristol, the 31^st^ day of July, 1731.

I having also signed & given two other receipts of the same tenor and Date herewith for the same sume of £121.

T. S.

W^m^ Fishbourn,
Loving Friend.

These are to Order & Authorize thee to yield & deliver up unto James Logan or his Order his Bond bearing Date in September 1727 (or what date soever y^e^ same may bear) Conditioned for the payment of £106 on the 25^th^ 10^br^ 1728 at London; I having rec^d^ of his bro^r^ D^r^ W^m^ Logan of Bristoll by order of y^e^ s^d^ J. L. & on his acc^t^ the sume of £121 in full of the s^d^ Bond & all Int thereon due as by my receipt bearing date with these presents viz. this 31 day of y^e^ 5^mo^ (July) 1731. And for thy so doing this shall be thy sufficient Warrant.

Witness my hand,
T. S.

LETTER NINE

Several Friends to Thomas Story

quarto 1 page. The first two paragraphs are in one handwriting, with original signatures. The last paragraph was written by Logan.

addressed:

To Thomas Story
to be left at Isaac Huntington's
In Carlisle

endorsed:

Answ^{d} y^{e} 4th 11mo 1731/2

We underwritten doe hereby certify that the bond del^{d} us by James Logan, dated the twenty-first day of October, 1727, for the Last Payment of Sterling mony in London to Thomas Story, in Consideration of the said Thomas's house in Philad^{a}, w^{ch} as his attorneys we sold to the s^{d} James was for one hundred pounds, with five pounds for one year's Interest, payable on the 25th of December, 1728, to the s^{d} Thomas at the Pensilvania Coffee house in Birchin Lane, London, and for no more. Witness our hands at Philad^{a} the fifteenth of November, 1731.

We the underwritten doe hereby Certify that the bond of James Logans payable to Thos. Story, Dated 21st October, 1727, is for payment of £105 Sterling in London on the 25th of December, 1728, and no more, Includeing five pounds for one yeare's Interest of the £100, (w^{ch} mony being paid to Thos Story in Great Brittaine, s^{d} Bond is deliv^{d} to s^{d} Logan by Thos. Story's written order), being the Last payment in Sterling mony due for the house sold said Logan. Witness our hands in Philad^{a} the 15th 9mo, 1731.

Wm Fishbourn.
Antho. Morris.
Israel Pemberton.

The first draught above was done (I think) by Broth Pemberton, but not approv'd of because it was not mention'd that the money was paid to thy self & the Bond del^{vd} by thy Ord^{r}, therefore to prevent their being chargeable with it by what they should sign, W. ff. and A. M. had it put into the latter dress.

LETTER TEN

Thomas Story to James Logan and Sarah Logan, Junr.

oblong strip. First draft much altered and certain portions struck through. Some of the omitted portions are here enclosed in brackets. Armistead, in his *James Logan,* omits these. It would be interesting to know in what form the Letter was dispatched. In its first form it was unfinished.

London, 4mo 28th, 1734.

James Logan,

Esteemed Friend.

Tho' I have not writ nor had any from thee these several years, yet I have not altogether forgot the duty of Friendship to thee & thine, which prompts me on this favourable Occasion (by our valueable friend, Jos: Gill,[26] now come to visit you in those parts) to Salute thee & them with these few Lines & sincere respect. And remembering, as I have often done, the present made me, long ago, from thy Daughter, Sarah, as some of the first fruits of her early Genius, which I have not hitherto acknowledged to herself, tho' often intended it, I now beg leave, that I may, in some small returns, which I hope will be granted. And as her acceptable token, when so yong, was presented to me through thy hands, I think the same method most proper in what I now send her, intended in a box to be sent hence tomorrow towards Bristol to our Friend, J. G., afors^{d}. [The particulars are: two pair of Chrystal Sleave buttons set in gold cut Brylian fashion. Two p^{r} bright Red Cornelian buttons set in silver. Two silk handkirchers, a pair of Silk Stockings, Green or Scarlet out of 3 pair I send (the other 2 p^{r} being for her mother), which I desire may be made acceptable to them. And if I can find out what might be proper or accomodating to her mother, I would willingly convince her that I have not forgot her & if thou wilt favour me

[26]Joseph Gill (1674-1741) was a native of Cumberland and resided in Dublin. He was in America in 1734 and 1735 being the bearer of gifts from Thomas Story to Sarah Logan, Junr., of gold and silver articles and costly raiment. There is a written account of his American visit in Friends' Reference Library. He was a Minister about thirty years.

with so much liberty of friendship as to give me some small hint y^{t} way, I will really not only take it as from a familiar Friend but hold it as an Obligation upon me, & therefore find out her mind (thou canst do it without Suspition) & be free, as I here give thee some example.]

I have [not] been [so much in the North for about these three years last past as formerly, but] for the most part traveling these three years, & greatest part of those two last Winters here in this City, [where tho' I have three or four embitter'd Adversarys, to whom I never to my knowledge gave any Offence, & therefore the less concernd (on my own acc^{t}) at the loss of their friendship, which was once Seemingly very warm, yet I have as many thousands & more, in firm unity, upon the best foundation, & so can spare them, tho', for their own sakes, I had rather they were otherwise minded, they having no weapons wherewith to attack me on any Quarter but Malice & falshood, & of those they have not been sparing, but having on my Armour well proved & approved by long experience, I repell by long Suffering & Patience, every dart & firebrand of the Enemy & Enemies, which oppresses them more by neglect than if I should fight with them under the same weapons & nothing mortifies Satan & pride more than a careless & easie sleight, but enough of this if not too much.]

The Notion of the Principle of Truth takes generally with the brightest Geniouses, but the State & works it would lead to are too much yet awanting; but as men must first se before they can act with judgem^{t} I am not in dispair of a more general reformation in proper time, that is of Him who doth in Heaven & Earth what and when he pleaseth & can turn the hearts of Nations as the Streams of water. Three sorts of people at this day mainly oppose the Life of the Son of God, the Saviour of the World: The wicked, imoral, & profane. The false teachers, keept up by human power & wisdom, who by their late indeavours seem bent to exclude the Spirit of Christ out of his Church, & advance the Letter, or rather their own Notions, under that pretence & their own power & glory. And the Deists, who despise the priests as designing & insincere men, yet, not knowing the Divine Essential Truth in themselves, would advance reason as the only

guide of mankind in all things. They increase in number, & as they are despisers of priestcraft, & Subtile in reasoning, they may be subserviant to its overthrow, & much more so when inlighten'd by the Divine Truth.

The French & Spaniards have embroyl'd great part of Europe in warr, but we & the Dutch yet stand out. I am sometimes thoughtfull about you, if we engage ag^{t} y^{e} ffrench & Spaniards here, you may be in danger, w^{ch} y^{e} Lord

London, 4mo 28th, 1734.

Respected Friend,

Sarah Logan.

It is a long time since I was agreably favoured with a Specimen of thy early ingenuity, & some of the first fruits of it, in a p^{r}sent sent me by thy father's mediation, which was very acceptable and justly admired as the work of a person so yong & becoming much riper years, & long practice & experience. And tho' other matters have interposed, & suspended my intentions so long, yet I have not forgot the Obligation, & now, but late, make my acknowledgement, desiring that some small tokens of my respects (which I hope will come safe to thy father's hands with this) may be acceptable. And that all goodness & happyness may attend thee to the end, through every Scene of this uncertain life, & Crown thy last with a blessed immortality, is the sincere wish of

Thy loving tho' unacquainted Friend,

T. S.

LETTER ELEVEN

Sarah Logan, Junr. and James Logan to Thomas Story

quarto 2 pp. First page partly occupied with letter from Sarah Logan, Junr. Third page contains her father's letter.
addressed:

To Thomas Story.

endorsed:

Both answ^{d} y^{e} 21 11mo

Esteemed Friend.

About 3 months since, I was favour'd wth thy kind Lett^{r} by our Worthy friend, Joseph Gill, in which thou was pleased to remember a small piece of my Childish Performance, and to retaliate it to a great Excess with a valuable Present, for w^{ch} I wish it lay in my Power to make a suitable return, but as from this Country in my situation it does not, I can now only make my Acknowledgem^{ts}, not forgetting at the same time a handsom Shagreen Case, wth knife, fork, and spoon, that my father brought me as from thee, when last in England, for all w^{ch}, as I am bound in gratitude, I return thee my very hearty thanks, and am wth kind Respects,

Thy much obliged fr^{d},

Sa: Logan, Jun^{r}.

Stenton, 14th 9^{br}, 1734.

Philad^{la}, 16th 9^{br}, 1734.

Respected Friend, T. S.

Having for some days past been here dispatching a ship for London that I am concern'd in, or more properly my Letters by her, My Daughter sent me this unsealed, and therefore I make use of this blank page (for Saving of Postage) to acknowledge the Receipt of thy very kind Lett^{r} by Jos Gill, as also in my Wife's name thy present to her of some silk Stockins, as I remember, but whatever it was, it came in good ord^{r}, was carefully deliv'd, and thy old friend very kindly accepts of them. The girle speaks for her self as well as she can, I suppose. But thou hast really been too generous to them. I have 4 children now all with me, who I think generally take more after their mother than me,

which I am sure thou wilt not dislike in them. Yet if they had more of a mixture, it might be of some use to them to bring them through the World; And it sometimes gives me an uneasie thought that my considerable Collection of Greek and Roman Authors with others in various languages will not find an heir in my family to use them as I have done, but after my decease must be sold or squander'd away. But this is not in humane power to remedy, & therefore I must be content and thankful they appear not vicious, &, of the girles, I think I may truly say they are discreet. Had I not forgot thy Lett^r at home, I should have been larger, but I must now desire this may excuse me, who, with sincere good wishes for thy happiness, am

Thy affectionate fr^d,
J. Logan.

* * *

LETTER TWELVE

Thomas Story to James Logan and Sarah Logan, Junr.

Oblong scraps. First draft.

The concluding words cannot be read.

The letter as dispatched to Philadelphia is now preserved in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

London 11^mo 21. 1734.
To Ja: Logan in Pensilv^a p W. M.

Respected Fr^d.

I take this first opp^rtunity that presents, to acknowledge the receipt of thy frank Letter of y^e 16^th 9^br last, which is satisfactory on several acc^ts. I am glad to know thereby y^t my very dear fr^d, thy wife, and all your Children, are well & hopefull in y^e better part, & that those little things were acceptable to her as directed, in w^ch I meant (as to her) no other than as a token of my remembrance, & of the respect I owe her; being obliged also by thy sending with thine the agreable letter from thy Daughter, Sarah. I p^rceive thou art apprehensive thy Children inherit the Qualities of their mother more than thy own; & thy sentiments of y^e satisfaction I would reap by the knowledge of it are very right;

For as her p^r^son was very amiable, I looked upon it as the figure of her mind, full of sweetness, innocence, and vertue: & think I p^r^ceive much of that in thy Daughter by her letter tho' wholy a Stranger to her p^r^son, only have heard she is comly and agreable. As to the inaptitude of all thy Family of succeeding thee in such satisfaction as thou hast reaped in thy acquaintance with Books and Languages; thou wilt be easy in that, if it be possible for thee to consider that these things are genererly speculative & so barren (as to us), that they cannot afford us one morsell, for support of a short, uncertain life in this teezing World, or much help towards a better, if then we have so much understanding & applycation as to conduct our Selves with honesty & safety with respect to bread & Cloth: & pursue the rule of Grace & vertue to the end, we shall not miss at last of a safe conduct to that haven w^ch^ I doubt not we all aim at in our most solid thoughts. Yet I am no enemy to Learning, tho' I have but little of it; that field affording great variety for contemplation, & much delight to the mind therein. But as I have read chiefly in those small glympses of the Divine Beeing I have been mercifully favourd with, in the face of the Son of God, & his Attributes Divine, moral, & Personal, he hath not left me quite ignorant of the knowledge of his works, which are indeed Stupendious & amazing, even the least of them, rightly view'd; but I have nothing to boast of but his mercy and goodness, in the whole course of his Providence hitherto; The little peep I have had into the records of time, by my scanty literature & want of proper oppertunity for more, furnishing me only with a Satisfaction in the general view of the Conduct of the World, from the begining of it unto this time; tho' greatest part of the particulars have escaped my notice. To conclude, then, I may have been as happy, all this time (& so may thy Children), & may remain & end so, circumstanced as I am & have been (some cross Occurrances in life (& these too not unusefull) excepted) even as him, whoever he may be, if any, y^t^ may have a kind of Omniscience in Human things, & so may any other of a Capacity lower than mine. But where am I run——I now return from THEE to thy self and family (if

thou canst make sense of this), and, in y^t^ Love which engageth me to wish all happyness to thee & them in this life & y^t^ w^ch^ is to come, conclude this from

Thy very loving Fr^d^,

T. S.

Please to give y^e^ inclos'd to thy Daugh^tr^ from

London 11^mo^ 21^st^, 1734.

Dear Friend.

As thy Father was pleas'd to mediate between thee & me in handing me thy very acceptable Letter of the 14^th^ 9^br^ last, I don't doubt but that he will likewise this acknowledgem^t^ of it; which I kindly accept as a full return at least, to those little things sent with my last, which in my own acc^t^ were due to a former & early favour, & can assure thee, that it is a pleasure to me to know from thy self that they are acceptable, having no view or desire of any other return, than the friendship I observe in so agreable lines from an innocent & virtuous mind. That Heaven may p^r^serve thee, my dear friend, & by the sweet Divine Dew thereof from above, daily descending upon thy tender heart, increase & furnish thy mind with all Sweetness, goodness, Understanding, & Knowledge of the true God, & Divine things, which as it is the greatest blessing I can wish for thee, so I sincerely do give it, because I am

Thy affec^t^ Loving Fr^d^, tho' I may never see thee in this World,

T. S.

To S. Logan.

* * *

LETTER THIRTEEN

Thomas Story to James Logan

Draft only

The reference to May Drummond is omitted from this Letter as it appears in Armistead's *Logan,* and also the reference to Story's enemies.

London 12^mo^ 20^th^, 1735/6.

James Logan,

Dear Friend,

My last to thee was of the 21^st^ 11^mo^, 1734/5. Since which I have not had any from thee, so that all the satisfaction I have

had concerning the welfare of thyself and family has arose from my enquirys of such p^r^sons as have come from Pensilvania, & that as often as occasion has offered. I wish thee & them heartily well, & therefore send my enquirys hereby, having so good an opp^r^tunity by thy nephew, Pemberton,[27] whose conduct here has gain'd him reputation. I have not many Occurrances to relate Concerning public affairs, only the face of Europe looks much more serene and amiable than last year, which may the Almighty & Alwise Creator & govern^er^ of all things increase & establish. The Parliam^t^ is now sitting, & we are preparing to apply for further ease with respect to Tyths, but our success seems very dubious, tho' many seem to pay regard to the Priests here as the Indians do to their Hoccomocco, to escape their mischief. And they will reign or Dominier till our SUPERIOURS be inspird from above with greater Courage & resolution, which seems to be the greatest want, in Ord^r^ to humble the pride and break the dangerous & Crown-jusling power of an Anti-christian Hierarchy.

As to the state of our Society as a religious people, it is but Low at p^r^sent everywhere, the Life of the Word of God is too little know[n], & less obey'd among us. Too many who have rece^vd^ the doctrines & Traditins of our profession in their heads are yet ignorant of the prevailing power & vertue of it in their hearts, which is also the Case of thousands in other professions in this great City & Nation, & in others who are not yet come to profess openly w^th^ us. Yet we have still a truly religious, well-experienced, & grown people among us, & the Lord is likewise adding here & there a few into our profession in open Comunion w^th^ us. I was down in Cornwall & those parts in Sumer gon a year where there is great Openess, and about forty had been convinced near Ostal[28] not long before, and some of them had stood nobly in Testimony ag^t^ the Priests & their Antichristian Demands &

[27]Israel Pemberton, the Younger (1715-1779), known as "the King of the Quakers," was James Logan's nephew by marriage. He married, in 1747, Mary Jordan (d. 1778), widow of Robert Jordan and Richard Hill; she was a Stanbury by birth.

[28]That is, Austell, now known as St. Austell. There is a record of Friends in this town in *Jnl. F. H. S.* XX.

maintenance, & having been through divers Countys, & at several Country yearly meetings, & in sundry Citys & Towns, I observe there is a general inclination, in all sorts & ranks of people, to hear us, & behave with friendly sobriety & respect, which is so far well, yet much short of w^{t} we mean in religion, which is a real renovation of the minde, by the quickening power & life of the Word of God, which I hope is invisibly proceeding (tho' by slow degrees) in many Souls.

And some are publicly added to us lately in some part of the East of Cumberl^{d} & Northumberland. I have had a letter from a friend lately, That there is a Gent (& his family) of good reputation & Estate that way, & 6 or 7 familys more alread[y] joynd with us and 'tis thought about 20 Heads of familys more are ready to do the same. And a good openess still remains at Edinburgh. There is now here a yong Gent: her name is May Drummond,[29] of a considerable family, from thence; she was convinced at a Yearly M. near 4 years ago when I was there. She is of a good capacity, a chearfull, affible deportm^{t} & ready witt, has been a preacher about two years, her expressions particularly fine & unaffected, has been at Bristol, Bath, and those parts, & at Oxford twice, & is folowd everywhere & admired by all ranks & professions, priests & people, more than any of our profession ever was, but as I. P. lodges in the same house & has been at many

[29]May Drummond was of a considerable family in Scotland. About the time of her convincement under the ministry of Thomas Story in 1731, her brother, George, was provost of Edinburgh. She frequently spoke of "my worthy cousin Perth," that is, the titular Duke of Perth. In Letter XIV Logan expresses a wish that some of her discourses might appear in print, but in Letter XV he seems to express a contrary opinion. Some of her writings were published. About 1765, dissatisfaction began to be felt with her ministry—a Scottish Friend wrote: "We have farr better meetings in thy absence than when thou art present."

She was finally silenced and presumably disowned. She died in 1772. There is a valuable account of May Drummond, written by William F. Miller, in *Jnl. F. H. S.* V. See also Thomas Story's *Journal*, pp. 714, 719, 720, and many other references. We do not understand Logan's reference to "y^{e} man" in Letter XV. All notice of May Drummond is omitted from the Letters as printed by Wilson Armistead.

d.

Meetings with her, he will give thee a more particular acc^{t} than I can write. As to my self, I am still transient, not seing any place of settlem^{t} unto this time, but have winterd here in London 3 or 4 Winters last past, making it the center of my Travells, which have been pritty constant for some years, & am favourd with a good share of health, & my naturall strength not much abated, for w^{ch} I am thankfull where I ought.

I have had some considerable Enemies here, &, by their means, some elsewhere, for their Envy has boyled very high, & even over, but as it is altogether unjust, & without any real cause on my part, they have not succeeded in their attempts, but have greatly Exposd themselves, & ruind their own charracters in attempting mine. Some of these who were drawn in by the Principalls are reconcil'd (tho' I seek after none), & I have the rest in my power to expose them to a very great degree, having, by a particular providence, obtaind a letter containing a contrivance to have ruind me every way by false accusations & bribed false witness, & am lately inform'd by a man under necessity & want, that one of them sent a messenger to offer him £100 to accuse me falsely to accomplish their wicket designs. But as he knew no evil by me, he withstood the temptation, & honestly inform'd me of it; yet all these, & many other injurys I am made able to bear, through the grace of God, for the Sake & peace of Christian Society, tho' they are no real Members of that Body of w^{ch} X^{t} is head, tho' they profess with us & even set themselves up for dictators therein. I have not been so far North as Cumberland these several sumers, but may this coming, for I have (for my diversion & amusem^{t} at leisure times) raised there many sorts of forrest plants, & divers American Exotics which I chiefly value, for I still retain an affectionate remembrance for y^{t} part of y^{e} World, & wish you well; & thou & thy family being, at this time, in a particular manner in my view, I salute you in Love, especially the Mother & first daughter, & remain, as ever,

Thy and your real Loving friend,

T. S.

P.S.—I was at Bristol last fall where I, with A. Arscott, spent an evening to satisfacon with Dr Logan. He is in esteem there, & he & spouse were very frank & hearty.

7th mo 12th, 1759.

Then perused by J. Wilson,

Being James Logan Letrs to

T. Story & worthy to be read

& kept to posterity.

* * *

LETTER FOURTEEN

James Logan to Thomas Story

large folio 2 pp.
addressed:
To Thomas Story
to be left at John Blan's
Gold-smith
at the Black-horse in
Lombard Street
In
London
per Jos: Champion
endorsed:
answd 3m 7 & till ye 4m 11 1737
The reference to May Drummond is omitted from Armistead's *Logan.*

T. Story,
Dear Friend.

I was some weeks since favoured with thine of the 20th 12mo last, and designed by last opportv from hence to have answered

it, but being straitned in time, I desired our fr[d], Josiah Martin,[30] to excuse me to thee, and at the same time to deliver thee one of three Copies I inclosed to him of a late Print here, which I hope thou wilt have rece[vd] long before this can come to hand. If so, I would request thee seriously to consider it and to give me thy Sentim[ts] of it, of the Subject I mean, and not of my performance for that is a matter of indifference to me. But if, as thy last hints, thou was gone to the North before that Ships Arrival, and because of the Postage it has not been sent to thee, being somewhat too bulky (tho' not exceeding 3 sheets) for that kind of Conveyance, I shall only inform thee in this, w[ch] may probably come by that common carriage, that it is a Charge I gave the Grand Jury at a Court of Oyer and Terminer at Philad[ia] in April, which I then intended should be the last from me, but as the Governm[t] cannot yet find another to fill my place, I cannot at present say how it may prove. But to mount a Bench on crutches which I have now done for these 5 years past, and to pass sentence of Death gives me a real uneasiness, w[ch] neither the p[r]sent salary of a hund[d] a year (of our Currency) can, nor a much greater could compensate to Satisfaction.

What is delivered in that Charge, I know, does, and must generally please, or at least under the Limitations mentioned in the Advertisem[t], for there is the purity of Natural and Rational Religion, and within that I purposely confined my Discourse. But what I would crave thy Sentim[ts] on, is, *how far thou thinks*

[30]Josiah Martin (1683-1747), a member of Peel Meeting, London, has been described as "a man of learning, humility and fervent piety." His writings, dated from 1714 to 1741, deal with persons and subjects not usually appearing in the writings of Friends—John Locke, Madame Guyon, Fénelon, the Archbishop of Cambray, and F. M. de Voltaire. The Archbishop's *Dissertation on Pure Love,* and *Directions for a Holy Life* went through several editions, also the *Letter . . . to Francis de Voltaire* respecting Voltaire's *Lettres sur les Anglais.* Logan submitted some of his essays to Martin among other of his English friends and correspondents. By his will (copy in *Quakeriana,* London, II. 84 (1895) he devises his Library of 4000 volumes to be sold, after having been catalogued. Money was left to nephews and nieces. His exors. were Joseph Besse, schoolmaster, of Clerkenwell, and Elias Bland, of London. He died unmarried.

what is mentioned there, if Strictly adhered to, will reach, without further knowledge or Instruction. ffor this is a point that under the Christian Dispensation I confess I know not how to answer, yet I shall never enter into disputes on the subject. I desire thee only to take the whole (as I said) seriously into consideration, as there laid down, that is, *that the Creator at first furnished Man with strong natural Inclinations to lead him into the Practice of all the Social Virtues* (I call them *natural* because *universally* implanted in the Species), but by a *perverse use of his ffree will,* he became *corrupted,* yet there are still sufficient *Remains* of that primitive *Splendor,* as 'tis there called, which, if duly cultivated, may yet lead him to happiness.

It is fit I should inform thee that in forming that discourse I framed not nor proposed to myself any manner of hypothesis; I had nothing further in view than at my quitting that Station to say something usefully instructive & edifying to the People; and tho' I was to be in Court (as I was) on the 2^{d} day before noon, I had not the preceeding first day morning so much as resolved what the particular subject should be, which I mention only to shew how far I was from all previous Intentions of advancing any Singular opinions. The common way of talking on these Subjects has been that *Reason is the great Guide,* and I confess it may be a great one, but I am fully persuaded that without the *concurrence,* and even the *leading* of the *Affections, Reason contributes very little to virtue;* it *distinguishes,* and *when not too much biassed, decides,* but it *rarely incites;* this is the *work of the heart,* and, I am convinced of it, was so intended *in our formation.* But then if this be *natural,* where is the *divinity* of it otherwise than as it is the work of the Creator. I say again, this is a point beyond my reach, and there I must leave it.

But I shall further acquaint thee that for several months past, I have been on a *Treatise Of the Duties of Man as founded in Nature,* and these words will fully shew thee that I am to consider them only *Philosophically,* without any view to any *profession of Religion* whatever. Last Winter I sent over the *first*

Chapt^r of it to *Peter Collinson*[31] & *Josiah Martin,* with orders to Peter (to whom I am more obliged than to any man there for his diligence in obliging me in what I want) not to be free in communicating it, yet I now wish I had thought of and *mentioned thee,* but I never use to consider thee as a Resident in Lond. In the Spring I also sent my *Bro^th in Bristol* the 4^th Chapt^r on the *Affections* & *Passions,* in which I have gone an *unusual depth* into *anatomical Inquiries,* and for this reason have desired it may be *communicated* to some of the *Principal Physicians* about Lond, particularly to *Dr. Mead,*[32] who may find in it somethings not unworthy of his closest Attention. There are others in the same Chapt^r that I wish thou couldst see, and particularly what is said of *Natural Conscience,* w^ch I believe will appear new to thee.

I have heard a great deal of *May Drummond* and not without *Astonishm^t,* since her Language is universally allowed to be *extreamly fine,* and her reasoning very just. I hope some of her *Discourses* have been taken in *short hand,* & will be *published* for the *satisfaction* of those who cannot have the *pleasure* of *hearing* her.

As to the progress of *true Religion* I am persuaded it will gain ground, but *Tyranny* in *Church* & *State* is so *established* in most parts, that without a general *Concussion* & *Revolution* it cannot greatly obtain, for while that grand Article *Obedience,* the *principle foundation* of the Ch. of *Rome,* together with the *power* of *punishing,* subsists, I have a very slender Prospect of

[31]Peter Collinson (1693/4-1768) acquired an ample fortune as a wholesale woollen-draper, with business with the American Colonies, and gave himself to scientific pursuits, especially the study of botany. He corresponded with many learned men in foreign countries. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society and of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Dr. John Fothergill wrote an account of Collinson in 1770. A biography has recently been published by Norman G. Brett-James, of London.

[32]Richard Mead, M. D., F. R. S. (1673-1754), of London, was "one of the most illustrious men of his age." He was not a Friend, but married a Quaker wife, Ruth Marsh, in 1699 and had issue. She died in 1719.. He re-married, *s. p.,* in 1724. He is mentioned several times in Dr. Fox's life of Dr. John Fothergill, 1919.

Some of Logan's correspondents seem to have been rather dilatory.

any great Progress to be made short of what I have mentioned.

My family thro' Mercy are all in health & give their kind love to thee. My younger daughter now in all respects equals the elder save in years, being both, I think, exactly of a height, and they are now much what their mother was when thou left her, tho' she, thou may be sure, is very different in her person, yet in her better part she continues much the same, as also does

Thy real loving friend,

J. Logan.

Stenton, 12th 5mo, 36.

* * *

LETTER FIFTEEN

James Logan to Thomas Story

Very large folio 3½ pp. Written by Hannah Logan, with P.S. by her father.

addressed:

To Thomas Story
In London

endorsed:

Answd 1mo 2.

Armistead's *Logan* omits reference to May Drummond and also the postscript.

Esteemed ffriend.

I recevd and with pleasure read thy Lettr of ye 7th 3mo, and should be yet more pleased if I could answer it to thy Satisfaction; but the principal Subject of it, as by thee considered and spoke to, having at times very closely employed my thoughts, I must own that I am not to this day capable of forming those clear notions & distinctions in my own mind concerning it, that I conceive necessary in every case before I can persuade myself I understand it, for as in my youth I had an Inclination for knowledge, tho' I was at first well pleased with every Attainmt of Skill, as with the practical parts of the Mathematics, yet I never could acquiesce in these without knowing also the first and deep-

est principles on w^{ch} the Rules for that Practice were founded. So, in a maturer State, tho' engaged, as thou knows, in a vast hurry and Load of business, I could not forbear making reflections on the Springs both of thought and Action in Mankind, and latterly concluded that all our Knowledge is but relative to our own beings & constitution here, and having long fixed on this thought, tho' in variety of other occupations, I had also this further one, that some time or other I would make some little Essay towards digesting and putting those Conceptions in writing.

On this I began in 7^{br} or 8^{br}, 1735, about two years since, taking this for my foundation against Hobbes[33] that Man was primarily in his Nature formed for Society, for proof of w^{ch} I discovered & adduced Several Argum^{ts} that had never to my knowledge been advanced before, and having run over the draught of it, and caused one of my Children to Copy it, I sent it to Peter Collinson to Shew it to Some two or three such persons, as he should think the most competent Judges of it, for I have been unfortunate in this, that I have had very few if any acquaintance here, or any correspondents there, who could or would be of use to me on such occasions. I was in hopes indeed of some advantage that way from J. Martin but found my self disapointed. That discourse which I intended for a first Chap^{r} I admire thou hadst not seen when thou wrote, I hope P C has not so parted with it as not to have it in his power; the sense of what I expressed in 4 Latin lines, not very familiar to those who are not versed in their Poets, thou wilt find in this in as many English.

The same Winter, having before drawn up a Sketch for a Chapt on the Senses, I proceeded to another on the Intellect, and a 4th on the affections & Passions; the two first of these I soon saw I must run over again, for that 3^{d} I perceived required a much closer Application, and the more so, because, having seen

[33]Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), "philosopher . . . In metaphysics a thoroughgoing nominalist; his political philosophy (chiefly in 'Leviathan,' 1651) arguing that the body politic has been formed as the only alternative to a natural state of war" *(Dict. Nat. Biog.)*. Hobbes lived in London and Paris.

a book of D^r^ Brown,[34] late Bp of Cork, under the Specious Title of the Proceedure, Extent, & Limits of Human Understanding, I observed some Errors in him of such dangerous consequence, that I thought it of importance to have them rectified, particularly in his Sinking moral Certainty to a degree so far inferior to Mathematical, which I think I can clearly shew to be equally built on the same foundation.

But the 4^th^ Chapt^r^ being more compleat, I caused a Copy of that also to be drawn out, & because of some pretty deep Anatomical Speculations in it of the Heart & Nerves, I sent it first to my brother, & then to D^r^ Mead, who had not returned it, I find by P C Lett^r^ in Sept^br^ last; but if not yet done, the few Lines I am now sending him, I hope will oblige him to it, and then thou may have the opp^ty^ of perusing it.

In that piece I expect thou wilt find something to object to, but I cannot help it. It has been and is my Rule & Method to investigate y^e^ Truth and the Reality of Things abstracted from all prejudices whatever, with the most intense Care and Application, and tho' it is by no means proper freely to publish all ones thoughts, yet it is indispensably incumbent on an honest man to publish nothing but what he is at least convinced of in himself, & believes to be true, so far as the nature of y^e^ Subject admits of certainty, or, in default of this, has the advantage of a strong probability.

My sole Scope in that Chapt was, as far as I could carry it, to prove that the head, w^ch^ is the only Seat of thought & consequently of Reason, and y^e^ Heart y^e^ Spring of all Action, are two distinct regions of themselves, tho' of y^e^ strictest communication: that from hence every motion of the heart (its Affections, &c.) may be watched over and guarded as a Chymist does by his

[34]Peter Browne (d. 1735) became bishop of Cork and Ross in 1710. Dr. Browne's book on *The Procedure, Extent and Limits of our Understanding,* 1729, is also referred to in a letter from Logan, dated 11 Jany. 1735/6: ". . . . The bouncing B^sp^ strikes at all, damns Lock for a Shameless . . . ., ridicules the Moral Sense and everything but his own Notions." Hobbes is also brought under review (letter offered for sale by S. N. Rhoads, of Philadelphia, in *Catalogue 35,* 1916-17).

fires, stills & bottles, and therefore that every Affection & Passion may, by a careful exercise, be brought into Subjection, & under a just Regulation, by which, when directed by a good Understanding, Morality is perfected, and this is the true foundation of all social Duties, and, when there is joyned to this a true Sense of our dependance on the Supreme and Divine Author of all things, a constant contemplation of his Wisdom & Goodness, and a Sincere Love springing from thence, influencing us by the bent of Affection, to observe & practise, in what relates to us & is in our power, the same good Ord^{r} that he has established throughout his Creation (w^{ch} I make the subject of a 5th Chapt^{r} on Moral Good or Virtue) this is true Religion and Holiness. Yet I purposely forbear to treat these subjects otherwise than Philosophically, for, adding a 6th Chapt^{r} on y^{e} Will, in w^{ch} I should use some freedom even with y^{e} great J. Lock,[35] for whom notwithstanding I have a very great Esteem, I would conclude the first part, and in a 2^{d} but much shorter one, proceed to apply y^{e} whole.

But that these things will ever be finished is more than I can reasonably expect, nor do I at all expect it. I find my natural abilities much decay'd, and I am with those of y^{e} Brain too much in the same condition with those hard Labourers, who in their youth spent their strength without sparing it, the Effects of which they most sensibly feel in the pains & weakness of Age.

On considering that Discourse of the Affections, &c., if thou meets with it, thou probably may not be pleased with my ranging natural Conscience amongst the Passions. I am sensible it is wholly new, but I think it is no less just, and however it may appear on the first view, I am perswaded I could not do a greater

[35]John Locke (1632-1704) published, in 1690, his celebrated *Essay on the Human Understanding*. He corresponded with Benjamin Furly in Holland, with whose family he was on familiar terms. See *Jnl. F. H. S.* XI. A letter from Locke to two Friends, Rebecca Collier (Collins) and her companion, Rachel Bracken (Brecon, Bracton, Buckon), reveals his interest in them after attending a meeting in London in 1696, at which they were present. The letter is printed in *Bulletin*, X. 15, see also *Jnl. F. H. S.* XI. 67.

Service to Virtue and true Religion; for I have there left full room for all superior Influences, as I have tho' very briefly hinted in one Sentence, for that is not the place to say much more of it, tho' perhaps I may even there add something.

But now to speak to that part of thy Letter,[36] where thou treats of Man, Reason, &c., and sayes: "Man in himself con-" "sidered, as a Creature, is no more selfsufficient than self pro-" "ductive. The first State we find him in is simply animal, with" "like Senses and Appetites as others have, In this State (as in" "Childhood) he knows nothing of relation, of Property, or of" "Moral Virtue, yet is animally social to his own genus and other" "species, till, gradually growing & increasing to an Intellectual" "State, he distinguishes between the Animal or Sensual Appe-" "tites, and Objects of Reason (or the Intellect) as Moral Truths," "Mathematical Problems, &c. His Reason is not that which" "makes the discovery, but is only susceptible of it. That which" "makes the discovery and directs to the Choice in the Under-" "standing in Moral Truths, is Essential and Self evidencing" "Truth, furnishing the Mind with an immediate intuitive view of" " Right & Wrong, without any Reasoning or use of it. It is this" "that suggests strong Inclinations to the Rational Nature of man," "to practice all natural Social and Moral Duties to his own genus," "and not man himself or any property essential to him or con-" "stituent of his Being. But as the Eye hath a capacity of seeing," "yet cannot without the Medium of Light, even so tho' the Intel-" "lect is capable of Information in Moral, Social, and Divine" "Truths, the true and certain Informer is Essential Light or" "Truth, without which there is no certainty." (I have transcribed all this for thy own review, because perhaps thou may not have kept any copy.) And by this Essential Light and Truth thou seems clearly to mean the same thou mentioned before, viz., the Divine Logos spoke of by St. John y^e^ Evangelist.

In these words I think thou very plainly delivers thy sense, in what I requested of thee, and yet to me I must own the matter

[36]It is well that James Logan copied his correspondent's letter as it does not appear among extant letters of the Correspondence.

it self, in that sense, is incomprehensible, ffor as from what I said before of my self, thou willt easily believe, I cannot without clear and distinct Ideas or notions of things p^{r}suade my self I understand them, so I cannot conceive thy comparison of the Eye & the outw^{d} Light wth Reason and y^{e} Essential One or Truth, for y^{e} Eye cannot see at all wth out y^{e} outw^{d} Light. I must then ask whether Reason can conceive or judge at all without the other Light, if not, then tho' in the Schools they imagine they do something in distinguishing between the Subjective and Objective parts of Knowledge, yet I must own I do not understand their Jargon. The Eye is an Organ, but Acts nothing at all of it self, for thou hast seen a glass of mine perform the very same thing in a darkend room that the eye does in the head, but Reason is an active principle, it is the power of comparing Ideas received into the brain, w^{ch} seems to be truly organical. But then perhaps we are to suppose that it cannot compare them without the accession or presence of that essential Light, If so, I ask whether this Light is necessary in all cases, & on all subjects Mathematical, Artificial, Political, & Moral, or is there a Distinction? If in all, this is Malbranche's[37] notion of our seeing all things in God, w^{ch} for very good reasons, with the Absurdities that would follow upon it, is justly exploded, in every other sense, than that by the Power & Influence of the Deity, the whole Universe, with all its motions, is supported, and in this sense the Notion explains nothing at all particular in relation to the Mind, more than it does of the Suns rising, &c. But if not in all, and only in Moral & divine Truths, I am sure that as to the first, there will difficulties arise in all pretences or endeavours to give a Criterion, that will plainly and on the first view be found unsurmountable. But on the whole, if Reason cannot act without the influence, Assistance, or presence of that essential Truth, then y^{e} same Reason, w^{ch} is the discriminating faculty between Man & Brutes, and with some share of which it is universally allowed Man must be endued, to entitle

[37]Nicolas Malebranche (1638-1715) was a French philosopher of the Cartesian School *(Dict. Nat. Biog.)*. Our knowledge is sufficient to assign Logan's reference to any of this author's philosophical writings.

him to humanity, is that Logos, and then what becomes of the Spirit &c. Be pleased only to review thy own words, and then consider where the matter will terminate, for upon a closer examination thou canst not fail of seeing that the faculty called Reason, w^{ch} is lodged solely in the head, and the Logos are vastly wide from being the same.

But in the following part of thy Lett^{r}, thy Acco^{t} of it is no less different; there thou sayes: "The Almighty has cloathed" "his Wisdom & Power, the Eternal Logos, with a human mind," "homogeneal to all Mankind—and that thus cloathed or veiled" "in the proper Nature of Man, it approacheth his Mind, so as" "to reach & lead even his Affections, and begetting him unto him-" "self, makes him partaker of the divine Nature, whereby the" "divine Will is not only manifested in him, but becomes his" "Law & greatest delight & pleasure," &c. This indeed is to the purpose, tho' not directly to that of my question. The thing it self I take to be altogether inexplicable & incomprehensible any otherwise than by feeling and Experience; yet scarce more so, than almost every part of our Constitution, especially that of the Union of a passive body and thinking Mind. And this notion or belief I would by all means have cherished, for after the most strict Philosophicall Inquiries I am able to make, I am strong of Opinion and firmly believe there is something divine attends Mankind, exerting itself in that part of him, that, in my discourse on the Affections, I have called Natural Conscience, which, when ardent desires are raised in his heart to know the Will of God, to be enabled to perform it, & to have some communion with him, it purifies, animates, and strengthens. I am further also of Opinion, that this arises, not alwayes from the Will of Man, but some times immediately and at once from a divine Influence, and sometimes it may cooperate only with the Inclinations in the heart to Good, in both which cases it is properly called Divine Grace.

But I must here be so plain as to say that I can by no means run this to the length I observe many of our well meaning friends do, who imagine that all the thoughts, suggested (as in preaching) from a sense of that Love, are the dictates of the Spirit. God

undoubtedly may, on some very peculiar occasions, reveal a particular Truth, but that this is common may well be more than doubted, for it is certain that the Motions of the heart & thoughts of y^e^ head are very different. A man that has a strong passion for a woman will find a great many warm thoughts spring in his Mind, as they are raised & influenced by his Affections, and the like, tho' of a different tendency, may be observed to result from other passions, as anger, hatred, &c. So when the heart is touched with divine Love, pious thoughts will be suggested, but for the most part partaking of the natural temper & disposition of the Speaker as well as indicating his natural Abilities or Weakness. Of all this I am inclinable to believe thou wilt approve tho' there are but too many who would be offended at it. But I forgot I am writing a Lett^r^ & that it is already too long. I shall add, however, that if thou shouldst differ from me in opinion on any part of this, thou may, if thou please, give me thy further sense of it, but I will enter into no disputes, nor do I believe thyself inclinable to them.

My Charge, of w^ch^ thou art pleased to say so much, I find has been reprinted in London, but they have done wrong to put my name at large to it, since it was not so in the Edition here.

I should be pleased to know M. Drummond has y^e^ Man thou mentions; I was concerned to hear she had printed, being perswaded it could scarce fail of abating the Esteem she had acquired by her preaching. By a letter I have now lately rece^vd^ from Jos: Martin, dated last 6^th^ Mo^th^, I am inform'd thou was writing some Remarks on my Charge to send me; what thou further sayes on those heads I may consider, but hope they will not tend to what I have gaurdd against. I know nothing further at present to add but that my family at p^r^sent enjoy a tolerable State of health, and give their very kind Love to thee, as does

Thy real friend,

J. Logan.

Stenton, 15^th^ of Nov^b^, 1737.

P.S.—Tho' I rarely send away any Lett^rs^ but in my own first draught of them, yet as I sometimes employ my Girles for

their Improvem^{t} to copy for me, I send this in Hannah's writing, who, in finishing it, I find was pinched with the Cold; she has by mistake wrote my name to it but here I sign my Self for the whole.

Thine ut suprâ,

J. Logan.

* * *

LETTER SIXTEEN

James Logan to Thomas Story

quarto 2 pp.
addressed:

To Thomas Story
In London
or elsewhere

endorsed:

Answ^{d} y^{e} 8th 12mo

Stenton, 19th 9th, 1738.

Esteemed Friend.

I was favoured with thine of y^{e} 2^{d} 1mo in due time after its date, and perhaps ought to have acknowledged it sooner, but as thou gave me reason to expect something larger from thee, I was desirous to receive that first, of which having heard nothing further, it is incumbent on me at least to acknowledge not only that but thy kind Present of thy four Sermons, which I have not only look'd into my self, but caused my two daughters on first day evenings to read to their mother and me together, an employm^{t} on their part, that they as well as we, the hearers, were very well pleased with. And indeed I cannot but admire the singular favour and goodness of divine Providence extended to thee, in not only furnishing thee with bodily Strength to undergo such exhausting labours, but also in preserving thy intellectual faculties as serene and clear as ever, while I, whom I suppose thou wilt not now scruple to allow a good many years behind thee, tho' last month I enter'd my 65th, am very sensible of my natural decayes in most respects, and that I am now far short of being capable of performing many things that I might in a more vigourous age, to better purpose or with more ease at least to myself,

with the like advantages of leisure and other conveniences about me. ffor I truly very much doubt whether I shall ever be capable of compleating those things I have hinted to thee, which I began about this time was 3 years (for that Lett^{r} thou hast seen of Vegetation was purely accidental, & wrote y^{e} year before), but by our late Govern^{ors} death the next Summer, and our troubles from Maryl^{d} that directly ensued, tho' I was no way accessory to them, I was intirely diverted from them, and have never since resumed them. Yet I have wrote some other little things on different Subjects in latin, w^{ch} I suppose will soon be printed in Holl^{d},[38] or one of them on a Mathematical Subject, probably by the Royal Society[39] in their Transactions. But in these last I most sensibly and evidently feel my decay in not being able in any measure to carry on a calculation as formerly.

But to return to thy discourses. I have no manner of Objection to any part of them; on the contrary I heartily wish we could have more of the kind from our Galleries. It is very true that what is principally to be regarded in our Preaching is what affects and reaches the Heart, for all besides amongst us is lifeless. Yet it cannot but be more edifying, as it is certainly more effectually persuasive, if directed to that end, when what is delivered carries at the same time our reason along with it, and the natural understanding is no less wrought on than the heart. As to those points in my last thou speaks to in thine, I choose intirely to decline the subject till I hear further from thee, or if thou please, for ever. Yet, if that should be the case, to wind up the whole, I

[38]This would probably be his *Experimenta Meletemata de plantarum generatione*, published in Leyden in 1739, republished, with translation, by Dr. Fothergill in 1747.

[39]The Royal Society for promoting research into the sciences of natural things and of useful arts, was founded in 1663. Many Friends have been elected as Fellows (F. R. S.). The rooms of the Society are at Burlington House, London. A recent letter from the Secretary of the Society states: "We find only four papers (in English) under his name (1) Godfrey's Improvement on Davis's Quadrant, 1734 [see Armistead's *James Logan*, p. 164]. (2) Impregnation of Seeds of Plants, 1736. (3) Lightning in Thunderstorms, 1736. (4) Size of Sun and Moon near Horizon, 1736. We do not trace anything under his name as late as 1738."

shall here say, that that Gift or Grace, whatever it be, or however men may agree or disagree in explaining it, it is the ONLY source of true happiness attainable in this life, and that the ONLY path that will lead to the true and real Enjoym^{t} of it is that of Humility and a sincere Charity, without which all Profession of Religion is empty shew, and no better than hypocrisy, however attended with Zeal or the Appearances of a fervent Devotion. And as in this we undoubtedly agree, I am sure we are safe in leaving it there. I should however be well enough pleased to see what thou hast committed to writing on the subject, and what would add to this desire, is the Surprize I am under at the short hints thou hast given me of thy hypothesis concerning the commence^{mt} of this present state of natural things, & that preceeding it, which thou conceives to have been Animalculic (a word I would advise thee to change for some better), & that to that prior state (as I understand thee) are owing the shells, &c., that are found in the Strata of the solid Earth. This indeed is a notion that I believe is not only new to thy self but to all Mankind.

If thou truly means it, as I take it, that matter was generally animated, *before the worlds were made of it,* w^{ch} last are thy own words, I confess it surpasses my understanding. Thou sayes none hath seen except Dr. Clark, &c.; if thou means Sam^{l} Clark, Rect^{r} of St. James's, I imagine this must be something thou hadst wrote before thou saw my Charge, because if I mistake not the D^{r} was dead some time before. Whatever it be, I could wish to see something more of it, for, from thy small hints, it appears to me very extraordinary.

My family are all thro' mercy in health, and my Wife & Daughters salute thee. I am with kind love,

Thy real Friend,
J. LOGAN.

e.

LETTER SEVENTEEN

Thomas Story to James Logan

quarto 4 pp. Draft only

London, 12mo 8th, 1738/9.

To J. Logan,
Respected Friend.

I am much Obliged by thine of the 19th 9br, which I take this oppr̃tunity to acknowledge (having inadvertently lost one by a vessel I se by ye Prints is now in ye Downs), & it gives me a sensible satisfaction thou took so much notice of that little Collection as to Cause it to be read in thy family with approbation. And must confess to the honour of our Creator his great goodness in giving & preserving my Strength of body and mind unto this Age, through so many and various vicissitudes of Life pr̃sonal dangers, Fatigues, troubles, & Exercises, all which in his Divine Wisdom he hath Ordered or turned to my Good; preserving me in Charity and good will to all mankind through many provocations to human nature, in which in point of time I may be about ten years before thee, but many more short with respect to acquirements, for which I never had suitable oppr̃tunity or time, if Capacity, but have this only to say that by the Grace of God I am wt I am. But thy natural decays hinted at gives me some concern, considering how useful thou might yet be in the world (thine being no great age) in seting some things in a more Lucid view, now when kind Providence affords thee (as I suppose) a little more Leisure from those Labours of another kind thou was thereby fitted for, & yet a more constant retirement may afford a recruit unexpected, which I could heartily wish as not impossible, tho' we ought to resign our selves and our Friends in all things to the Divine Will.

As to anything that looked like Controversy between us, I never meant any, what hapened was only occasional. I only intended to support (or as far as I could to illustrate) that great & fundamental Truth, That there is in man, though not of Man, or essential to him as a Creature, a Divine Intelligencer & Conductor, which, if believed & folowed, will Lead & Guid into

all Truth necessary for mankind in their several stations here, & in the end to Compleat happiness. And without doubt is the same thing intended & meant in thine, where thou sayest, "I shall "here say, that that Gift or Grace, whatever it be, or however" "men may agree or disagree in explaining it, is the ONLY Source" "of true happyness attainable in this life, & that the ONLY path" "that will lead to the true & real Enjoym^{t} of it is that" "of humility, & a sincere Charity, without w^{ch} all pro-" "fession of Religion is empty Show, & no better than hypocrisy," "however attended with Zeal or the appearances of a fervent" "Devotion. And as in this we undoubtedly agree, I am" "sure we are safe in leaving it there." To which I readily subscribe, since "The Gift or Grace of God is the only *source*" "of true happyness attainable in this life," &c. And the Gift & Receiver are not the same (till united by the Efficiency of Divine Wisdom & Power). I therefore rest satisfyd in the Point.

As to what I have wrote as a Coment upon thy Charge; & on that Occasion a Short Hypothesis concerning the Commencem^{t} of *Inert Matter* in order to the Establishment of the p^{r}sent State of things. I did fully intend to send it according to the Expectation given in my former, but was hindered by going into Yorkshire last Summer, where I spent some months, especially at Scarborough (during the Season attending y^{e} Meetings), at whose high Cliffs & the great varietys of Strata therein, & their p^{r}sent positions,[40] I further learn'd & was confirmd in some things, & that the Earth is of much Older date (as to the beginning of it) than the time Assigned in the holy Scriptures (as comonly understood), which is suited to the comon Capacitys of human kind, as to Six days progressive work; by which I understand certain long & competent periods of time, & not natural days. The time of y^{e}

[40]This reference to the high cliffs and varied strata seen at Scarborough is thus noticed by Joshua Rowntree in his Swarthmore Lecture on *Social Service,* London, 1913, p. 17: "Thomas Story, in 1738, sent to James Logan, from the Yorkshire coast, a forecast of the discovery of stratified geology, one hundred years before its time." The subject is fully treated in *The Friend* (Phila.), vol. 45 (1872), pp. 323 ff. See also *The Friend* (Lond.), 1911, pp. 504, 522, 545; *Dr. John Fothergill,* 1919, p. 209.

Commencement & finishing of all those Great Works being indiscoverable by ye mind of man, & hid in that short period, "In the Beginning God created the heavens & the Earth." And then the author [first written *Moses*] goes on to set forth the further modification of ye Terequious Globe after (& I conjecture very long after) it had its being with the rest of the worlds.

But staying so long in the countrey, & some time at York (where one took in short hand some things I spake in the meetings, the others being much more spread in those Parts than I was aware of), & being engaged in other matters ever since my return, I have not had any time to transcribe what I wrote on yt Subject, but Intend to go upon it in a day or 2, tho' I doubt cannot finish it so as to send it by this Opportunity, it containing 30 pages in 4to, and doing every thing of this sort with my own hands.

I am obliged to thee for the hint about the word *Animalculic*. It may not be properly adapted to the subject, but is the best I yet have in things so unusual & hard to be expressed in any Terms known to me; & yet paradventure when thou hast seen the whole it may do; but shall be still more oblig'd by thy correcting it and helping me to more adequate Terms where not fully so. This Notion is not altogether new to myself, unless conceiving it in my own mind & not from any other may be called new, for I have had it in my thought some years, but never put it in writing till on this Occasion, but it may be new to all others. I do mean, that all inert *Matter* was generally animated. consisting of innumerable Animalcula & Farina, *before the Worlds were made of it*, & I do not doubt but to bring it to thy understanding, at least, that it may be the most probable way to act for the beginning of *Inert Matter*, &, well understood, may bring out many more truths yet undiscovered in Nature; & I apprehend that the Creator of all things never made anything dead in its first procedure from him, but living.

D^r^ Clark is a Friend,[41] a yong man of good Understanding, bred under the famous Borhaef,[42] & hath practis'd Physic some years here in London. I shew'd the hypothesis likewise to D^r^ Fothergil[43] (now going to Leyden for improvem^t^) & he made some Objections which I have answered, whereby some things are made plainer: For as it appears to the rational man that God *is,* by referring back from the Creation to the Creator, even so by traceing the works of Nature, from their present state & manner of working, backkword, we may thereby the better perceive the manner of her procedure from her fountain & origin, tho' paradventure never to perfection in every particular.

I am oblig'd by the salutation of my good friends, thy Wife & Daughters, my Love salutes them & likewise thyself, for I am

Thy & Their sincere fr^d^,

T. S.

[41]This was William Clark, M. D. (1698-1778), son of John Clark, of Bradford-on-Avon, in Wiltshire, chemist, and Ann, his wife. He studied at Leyden and received his degree, after which he practised in London till, in 1747, he went back to his native town. On his retirement he went to live in Essex and died at Colchester. His medical dissertation (in Latin) for his degree was on the *Effects of the Passions on Human Bodies,* Leyden, 1727; English edition of 1752 in Friends' Ref. Lib., London. A copy of Clark's tract, *An Essay to discover the Visible Marks of Christ's Church,* issued after his death, contains a pencil drawing by that Quaker caricaturist, Jacob Bell (1810-1859), of the author holding in his hand a picture of a church-building. For Bell see *Jnl. F. H. S.* XXII.

[42]Herman Boerhaave (1668-1738) was a Dutch physician and man of science, of Leyden. His genius raised the credit of the Leyden University to such a height that students were attracted from all parts.

[43]Dr. John Fothergill (1712-1780), the noted Quaker doctor and philanthropist, of London. His life has been written by Dr. R. Hingston Fox, *Dr. John Fothergill and his Friends,* London, 1919.

LETTER EIGHTEEN

Thomas Story to James Logan

quarto 9 pp. Draft only, with considerable additions between the lines.

To James Logan.

London, 2mo 11th, 1739.

Esteemed Friend.

My Last was of the 8th of the 12mo, which may be come to hand by this time, & as I said therein, that I intended to send thee a transcript of what I have wrote upon thy *Charge,* it comes herewith for thy perusal & correction, & if it be, or can be made conformable to thy own Sentiments, & thought of any service, I am willing to be at the Charge of the Publication of some few of them, or the matters contained in them in some form or other. I do not know there is anything in it contradicting any part of the Charge (& I did not design any), but if there be in thy apprehension, please to assign the Places & alter them by some separate Notes & referance. In pa: 10 & 11 I had missed the Matter in transcribing it, but have supplyd it in the Margins, wch I think will be intelligible. In some places I have repeated several of thy sentences, but in so doing I have added some further Observations, coments, explanations, or expatiations upon them, all which I freely submitt to thy own Censure. What I have advanced concerning the prime production of *Inert Matter* may be true, tho' I may not be easily understood, for want of proper Terms whereby to express my sentiments on subjects so uncommon and abstruse; yet as the Effects point back to the cause, & as the wisdom of the Opperator is known by the work, so by traceing Nature backward by the manner of her own productions & issues, we may, better than by any other means I can think of, come to the knowledge of her first form & the State of it, and from thence to her prsent perfections in her various Parts & Circumstances, & again in the whole as one conected thing, compos'd of many Particulars. For it is plain to demonstration, That all Animals, as well human as others, are now first in an Animalculic State in the Bodys of their imediate producers, before they issue into visability, & so likewise are all vegetables

in a state Farinal before they attain such degrees of p^{r}fection as to become clear and distinct objects of sense; the bodys of the Animal kinds being as so many sorts of soyle, into which the Animalculae, as seed, are sown, in which they take root and are nourished for a time, till they arive at the perfections assigned them there, & are fitted for transplantation into another soyle, wherein they attain their full Stature & Strength, & answer the Ends proposd by the Creator, in perpetual Succession. And in like manner it is with vegetables after their kinds. They are first in a Farinal State in those Plants which contain them, & they issue thence in their Blossoms & flowers, &, attaining their proper aptitude in that mode, they then descend into their several Germeni, Vagina, & Staminea gradually, as by so many Stations, untill they attain to the State of Seeds after their various Species, which are as Plants wrapt up in Pelicules, now capable of taking root in the Earth, & imbibing the Water, & therein salt & sulphur, as also Mercury or Air, they are thereby & by y^{e} Action of the Atmosphere & sun expanded, and sending forth their tender roots, they attract their first nutriment more powerfully, as likewise the minute particles of the pre-existing, Inert Earth, originally congenial to themselves, they then also continue & proceed thereby to their perfections, for their several useses and ends in perpetual succession, & decline gradually, as all Animals, & resign their bodys at last unto the Earth from whence they were borrowed, & used for a time. So that there is a perpetual revolution of all things but no proper annihilation of any, save only of form, but not of substance.

But leaving this, I proceed a little upon another & more material Subject; The present posture of Affairs in Europe & the Western parts of Asia, among the Turks & Christians, seem to Tend to some General Revolution, which the Instruments thereof do not se or understand. For the minds of Mankind are generally under some uncommon dissatisfactions & agitations, but of very different kinds and to various Ends: The Princes thirsting after absolute power over their Subjects, & France over the whole; of which she seems more likely now to prevail than heretofore, by a fresh & Close allyance with Spain, being all of one house & intermedling in the affairs of all others, making her self as comon Arbitrator

whether requested or not, & taking advantage of every accident to add to her own power & extent of her Dominions, of which the other Powers (especially y^e^ Protestant) being fully Apprized, seem ready to enter into some new Confederacy for their Comon safety.

And tho' some seem to abandon all Religion as only the Inventions of Priests for their ends, & in consert with Princes to Inslave y^e^ rest of mankind & rule over them, yet one may with some pleasure observe the sober Concern that many of all sects are under in matters of Religion, which generally tends to the acknowledgement of an Inward Principle & work; not excepting some Jews here in London, of whom I heard, yisterday, That some of the more considerable sort among them having lately had som business with a Friend (of whom I had the account), after their matters were setled, desir'd to have some conversation with him concerning Religion, in which they told him, that they (that is many of the Jews) are weary of their own cerimonys as mere empty shows of no value, & have been looking into all the Books of Controversy among the Christians they can find, to se which of the sects & their Principles seem most like real Religion, which they agree is only in the mind, & is spiritual: & in the End one of the most Eminent among all of y^t^ sect in England declar'd, that if he should leave his Religion & Embrace Christianity, in any form, it should be that of the Quakers, for he did not se anything like real Religion in any other sect. And again, that continued Zeal & concern among the Germans, which thou has heard of, may contribute a good part tow^d^ y^e^ Advancem^t^ of Religion in y^t^ way or appearance. And among the yong men at Oxford & Cambridge, calld Methodists,[44] some of whom, who appear pub-

[44]The mention in Thomas Story's *Journal*, under date of 1739, "must constitute one of the earliest literary references of any importance to Methodism" (*Proc. Wesley Hist. Soc.* IX. (1914), 141). The preacher in Yorkshire who had been in Germany "was Benjamin Ingham [1712-1772]. He was one of the Oxford Methodists and was one of John Wesley's fellow-travellers to Germany, June-September 1738. Wesley's first visit to Yorkshire was in 1742" (letter from J. C. Nattrass, B. D., 1925). In 1760, Ingham adopted Sandemanian views *(Dict. Nat. Biog.)*. See Tyerman, *The Oxford Methodists; Proc. Wesley Hist. Soc.* XV. (1925), 56).

lickly as Preachers, are very much folowed & by many approved; but their Brethren, the *Clergy,* do not only now refuse them their Pulpits, but begin to revile them as Enthusiasts, & indeav^{er} to stir up p^{r}secution ag^{t} them by y^{e} Governm^{t}. However the most noted of them (Whitfield) [45] is still preaching, sometimes to Prisoners in the Goals, & in the Fields & houses to multitudes of People, who seem much to admire him, as likewise another of the same in Yorkshire, who hath been to Germany[44] to se that people there, & I hear hath a very good opinion of them, as a spiritual minded & innocent People.

And here & there we have some fresh moveings among us, divers yong Persons of both sexes here & in the country in several Places, lately appear in our meetings in Public, & are hopefull, & some here & there lately convinced. So that upon the whole it looks like a fresh Spring a Coming on, by those budds, sprouts, & Blossoms in so many places & forms, which may the Great &

[45]George Whitefield (1714-1770) was, with John and Charles Wesley, a leader among the new people called Methodists. At the date of this Letter he had spent some time in Georgia and was back in England. He returned to America later in the year, and, shortly after he arrived in New England at the conclusion of his seventh voyage to America, he died at Newburyport. It is said that he had preached in the open air and was ready to retire, but the people had crowded into the hall of the parsonage. The sight moved him, and pausing on the staircase he began to speak to them. His voice flowed on until the candle which he held in his hand burned away and went out in its socket. The next morning he was not, for God had taken him.

Whitefield came several times into touch with Friends. Edmund Peckover, *c.* 1742, when travelling in New England, recites: ". . . a place called Leicester (Many of those people called New Lights, Methodists or Schemers, for they go by all these Appellations, and those which Whitfield &c. have had great prevalence upon, are settled in these Parts and were often at our Meetings)" (*Jnl. F. H. S.* I. 103). He estimated Friends as "wrong in their principles, yet I think they have left us an example of patient suffering and did more by their bold, unanimous and persevering testimonies than if they had taken up all the arms in the Kingdom . . ." (*ibid.* III. 112): Joseph Oxley (1715-1757), an English Friend-Minister, was converted under his ministry (*ibid.* X. 130). He met Rachel Wilson, a Minister, of Kendal, and had some conversation with her in Bristol (*ibid.* XIX. 109, XX. 143).

good husbandman further Cultivate to his own Glory & the completion of the Salvation of Mankind.

I may have tyr'd thee by this time, & therefore shall only Add that things are at present pritty peaceable here among us & (desiring to hear from thee at thy leisure) with Love to Thy self, Family, and Relations, I conclude, & am,

Thy sincere Friend,

T. S.

* * *

LETTER NINETEEN

James Logan to Thomas Story

quarto 2⅓ pp. Small but very clear writing.
addressed:

For Thomas Story
to be left at the White Lion Tavern
in Cornhill London. per Capt. Wright

endorsed:

answ[d] 12 26 1740/1

Philad[ia], 8 Nov., 1740

My good Friend.

Whether it be owing to the public Confusions of that Nation, or to what other cause, I know not, but thy self and my constant Correspond[t], P. Collinson, are the only two of those with whom I have no real business to transact on that side of the water, by whom I have been favoured with one Line this now expiring year, and I am truly concerned that it is not in my power to say more than I now can in answer to thy last kind one, being, after near 13 months absence from this city, now call'd to it on an important occasion, viz., to answer to certain Interrogatories prepared for eight Commiss[ers] (four on each side), appointed by the H. Co[t] of Chancery of England on a Suit in that Court between our Prop[rs], Complain[ts], and y[e] L[d] Balt, def[t]: on 49 of which I have been examined, at no less than 10 of their meetings, in my Parlour where I am now writing, during five whole dayes, viz., the 29[th] 30[th] & 31[st] ult. & y[e] 1[st] & 3[d] instant, y[e] 2[d] falling on the 1[st] of

the week. The 4 named on our Prop^{rs} part, are Cl. Plumsted,[46] Jno. Kinsey,[47] Dr. Sam^{l} Chew,[48] who now lives in our Kent Co^{ty}, & Dav^{d} ffrench of Newc. A. Ham: is Counsel for our Prop^{rs}: the Commiss^{rs} on the other side are Coll. Levin Gale, grandson to old Levin Denwood, whom probably thou knew: with 2 Parsons and one B. Young, and — Dulaney their Counsel: but I have been since summoned to meet them again y^{e} 11th instant to be cross examined on the part of the Def^{t}, all y^{e} company who were

[46]Clement Plumstead (1680-1745) was probably a son of the Friend of the same name, of London, one of the purchasers of East New Jersey in 1682 (*Jnl. F. H. S.* XIII. 76). Marriage proposals were before Philadelphia M. M. in 1703—this would be his marriage with Sarah Righton, formerly Biddle (*Penn and Logan Correspondence,* I. 279). In 1707 the M. M. had before it Clement's proposals for marriage with Elizabeth Palmer, and in 1723 there was trouble over his marriage out of Meeting (presuming that these data concern the same person). C. Plumstead was mayor of Philadelphia in 1723, 1736 and 1741. His only son, William (1708-1765), was one of the wealthiest merchants of Philadelphia; in middle life he left Friends and joined the Episcopalians (*Hannah Logan's Courtship,* p. 298).

Young, *Memorial History of Philadelphia,* I. 237, 239, 288; Keith, *Provincial Councillors of Pa.; Publ. Gene. Soc. Pa.*

[47]John Kinsey, 3rd (1693-1750), was born at Burlington, N. J. He studied law, was elected to the Assembly of New Jersey and became its speaker, as the successor to his father, John Kinsey, 2nd. He removed to Philadelphia in 1730 at the age of thirty-seven, and the same year was made clerk of Philadelphia Y. M. In 1731, he was elected to the General Assembly and was its Speaker from 1739 to the day of his death. See Sharpless's *Political Leaders of Provincial Pa.*

[48]Samuel Chew (1693-1744) (he signed himself "Samuel Chew of Maidstone," near Annapolis, Md.) "studied medicine and afterwards law. He was influential among the Quakers, but he estranged many of them by his address to the New Castle [Delaware] Grand Jury advocating resistance to an armed enemy" (Campbell, *Collection of Franklin Imprints,* Phila. 1918, pp. 75, 227).

In 1741, he had been appointed Chief Justice of the three Lower Counties; he caused a militia law to be passed, thus forfeiting his membership among Friends. He married, first, 1715, Mary Galloway (d. 1734) and second, Mary, the widow of Richard Galloway. His later home was near Dover, on the Delaware River. He had a family by each wife. See *Maryland Historical Mag.* June, 1926.

here (three of a side), having gone to Newcastle y^e^ day following to examine divers witnesses in our behalf, who had been long waiting there. And now these Exam^ns^ having so differently employed my thoughts, I cannot pretend to turn them so soon to y^e^ speculative subjects of thy Lett^r^, & therefore must at present request to be excused and permitted only to give thee some short hints of our own public affairs as follows:

On the certain prospect of a War most of those who were principled for Defence, expecting to be outvoted, declined standing Candidates at y^e^ Election of y^e^ 1^st^ of Oct. 1739, whence there were no more than 6 of these to 24 of our fr^ds^, on whom, when met in Assembly, the Gov^r^ pressing y^e^ matter, they wav'd answering directly & adjourned as usual for several weeks, and then answ^d^ agreeably to their Profession. In or about Apr^l^, the Gov^r^ rec^vd^ ord^rs^ from y^e^ King and Ministry to raise what force he could to send to Jam^ca^ on an intended expedition to some part, but mentioning no particular, of the Spanish W. Indies, &c. In May following Maj^r^ Gen^l^ Blakeny (I think that was his Title) arrived at N. York w^th^ 3000 Small arms & cloathing for the same number, Commiss^ns^ for the Officers, 30 Lieut^ts^ one to each comp^ny^ of 100 men & about 42'000 ^lbs^ in Credit or Cash (I think) for their Subsistance; All that was required of the Colonies being to provide shipping for them and provisions for their Voyage & transportation. ffor the Supream Command of all these fforces Coll. Spotsw^d^, an excell^t^ old experienced Officer in the last war, was appointed, who appear'd not a little pleas'd with the Charge; but in his Journey from Virg^ia^ intended for N. York, he was taken sick at Annapolis in Maryl^d^, and there ended his days, on w^ch^ he was succeeded, pursuant to y^e^ K's Instructions in that Charge, by that good man, Gov^r^ Gooch[49] of Virg^ia^, who is no less short of the

[49]Sir William Gooch (d. 1751) was governor of the colony of Virginia from 1727 to 1749. He was Knighted in 1746. He was lenient toward Dissent. He returned to England "to the great sorrow of all the people of the colony, to whom he had endeared himself by his noble and disinterested conduct", quoted in an article on Gooch in *William and Mary College Historical Magazine,* vols. V. & VI. 2nd series, 1925-6.

He was succeeded in the baronetcy by his brother Thomas, bishop of Ely *(Dict. Nat. Biog.).*

other in Ambition than in military Skill. The Commiss^{rs} brought over by Blakeny being distributed, there fell no more to the share of this Prov. & Counties than 4 with arms & Cloathing, which was the same number that was allotted to N. Engl^{d}, tho' accounted much more populous, but such was the Alacrity of the People that on a bounty proposed in that and some other Govm^{ts}, they exceeded their quota in some more and some less, but particularly in that they raised a full thous^{d}. Our Gov^{r} press'd the Ass^{bly} to give money at least as they had done in 1711 for the exped^{n} agst Canada, and particularly some bounty for an encouragem^{t} to inlist, which if they would do, he would take none of the serv^{ts} (they were told) who had in great numbers offered their names in April, but they declined this, yet voted 4'000 ^{lbs}, w^{ch} they had mostly (some said more) in Bank, half of it to pay the Masters for their Serv^{ts}, or if there were any to spare from thence, that surplusage with y^{e} other half to y^{e} Gov^{t} to be applied to such uses as the K directed. But on the Assem^{bly} adjourning without complying with the Gov^{rs} proposal for a Bounty, w^{n} he was gone down to Newc. to attend the assembly there, the appointed Captains, of whom there were no less than seven for the Province, proceeded very freely to inlist serv^{ts} as well as others. [But I doubt I have, through my being all the year in the Countrey, committed an Anachronism here, for I think that it was after this that y^{e} 4'000 was voted.] However they also adjourn^{d} immediately after that vote, having first made some Progress in a Bill for the paym^{t} of y^{e} Money, but at their next meeting, sev^{l} of the Masters, as is alledged by the Ass^{bly}, having caution'd them agst making any Provision for their being paid, for since, in the other Colonies, few or no Serv^{ts} were taken, they had resolved to try their right by Law, the House declin'd proceeding any further at all in y^{e} Bill, but some time after issued an Ord^{r} to y^{e} Treasurer to pay the Gov^{r} three thous^{d} pounds, on condition that all the bound Serv^{ts} should be returned to their Masters, and that an Order from the King should be produced for the paym^{t} within nine months of that date.

In the mean time the levies went on, 8 companies of 800 men (of w^{ch} between 2 & 300 were Serv^{ts}) were compleated, and

since have been shipt off at I know not whose charge. The Mast^rs feed two eminent Lawyers from N. York, and brought them hither at a large expence but to no purpose: effectual Arts being used on the other Side to disappoint them of a Trial till y^e Cap^ts were sailed & the Actions could not be renew'd. This so generally provoked the People, that on the then ensuing last Election, notwithstanding the utmost Efforts of the opposite Side, the Reps^ts are all Quakers but four, and the Resent^mts run high in each party ag^st the other.

I was pleas'd to find thy hopes so sanguine in Apr. last that y^e ffr power was going to be humbled, but pray, what are they now, after such a Glorious Campaign at Sea, in w^ch our fleets have atchieved such renown'd Exploits our Trade been so effectually guarded, the Span^ds so humbled &c. &c? In short there seems to be a scourge prepared for us that I doubt we shall feel unmercifully laid on.

But my time requires me to end with this leaf w^ch I do with the Tenders of Respect from

Thy real Friend,
J. Logan.

P. S.—My son, W^m, at his Mother's desire, I suppose, wrote to thee about a Bank or Water Lott of thine she understands thou hast still reserved (tho' I somewhat question it), and if so, both she & I would take it kindly of thee if thou wouldst give him the preference, and sett thy price to him. He expects to marry this Spring to a Daughter (an innocent pretty girle such as thou formerly thought Sally that is mine now and mother to 3 children all turn'd of 20, and a younger, my namesake, past 12) a daughter, I say, to Geo: Emlyn,[50] whose wife is one of our 3 Sister-preachers, & all of them formerly sisters to that valuable youth, R^d Heath,[51] whom I suppose thou well knew; her father is also of good Repute and in Credit.

J. L.

[50]George Emlen, 2nd (1695-1754), was a son of George, the immigrant of 1682. In 1716/17 he married Mary Heath (*c.* 1692-1777), daughter

of Robert and Susan (Woolrich) Heath, who came from Great Britain about 1701. George and Mary (Heath) Emlen had three children, George, 3rd, Hannah, afterwards Logan, and Joseph, who died unmarried. Mary (Heath) Emlen was one of the "3 Sister-preachers."

George Emlen, 3rd (1718-1776), married, in 1740, Anne Reckless, a descendant of John Reckless mentioned in *The Journal of George Fox* (*Jnl. F. H. S.* VII. 191). Their eldest son, George, 4th (1741-1812), married Sarah Fishbourn (Emlen Chart, prepared by Thomas E. Shipley, Phila. 1925).

[51]Richard Heath was the son of Robert and Susan (Woolrich) Heath, whose daughter, Mary, married George Emlen. "Robert and Susan Heath, with their children Robert [? should be Richard], Susanna, Ann, Mary, Hannah and Elizabeth, came over in 1701 . . . Of the five daughters, four became Ministers of the Gospel, some of them remarkably eminent in their gifts and dedicated in their lives. *Susanna,* the eldest daughter, and perhaps the eldest child, was born in 1682, married Morris Morris in 1703 and died in 1755" (*The Friend* (Phila.), vol. 31 (1858), p. 173).

Ann married Richard Waln in 1706 (*Publ. Gene. Soc. Pa.* VI. 210).

Mary married George Emlen in 1716/17, born *c.* 1692, died 1777, a prominent Minister (see Emlen note).

Hannah married Samuel Hurford in 1731, as her second husband, born *c.* 1690, died 1763 (*The Friend* (Phila.), vol. 33 (1859), p. 124). She was a Minister.

Elizabeth married Thomas Livezey (1689-1759), of Lower Dublin (Justice, *Descendants of Robert Taylor,* Phila. 1925).

Robert, perhaps the youngest. If the Friend mentioned in Letter XIX, the name should be *Richard*—the death of "that valuable young man *Richard* Heath" is referred to, under date of 13 VIII. 1711, in a letter from Isaac Norris to James Logan, while the latter was in Europe, and the information is repeated in a later letter (*Penn and Logan Correspondence,* II. 438 and 436.

There is a reference in the *Recollections of John Jay Smith,* 1892, p. 345, to "*four* of these daughters, who were preachers, and memorials of them were published."

LETTER TWENTY

Thomas Story to James Logan

quarto 6 very full pages and much interlineation

London, 12mo 26, 1740/1.

J. Logan,

Esteemed Friend.

Thy favour of the 8th of 9br last is before me by wch I am obliged, and the more, considering thy circumstances, and necessary attachments to affairs of greater moment than the subjects of our correspondence comonly are, being matters of friendship & speculation, for mutual exercise & satisfaction on occasional and agreable subjects, & therefore thy own time shall be mine, in returning any thing to any Speculative parts of any I have wrote. Only, if bisness of moment might have prmitted, I could have been glad of a fuller and more explicit liberty to publish my comment upon thy Charge than I apprehend I yet have, wn thou hast corrected it.

As to the public concerns of Pensilva I perceive they are in a perplexed Condition, as are all the Nations in the World of the Christian Name, & some others, at this day; which seems to portend, that heaven is displeased with us Mortals, of all Ranks & Names, for our apostacy & transgressions, which doubtless are great, numerous, & provoking, & I am of the same thought with thee, that "there seems to be a Scourge prepared for us, & fear" "will be heavily laid on": but hope not without mercy. And by what Nation, or means, it may come does not become me to enquire. Only as I cannot se yt France is more righteous or innocent than any of the rest of the Nations, neither why that should be preparing as a scourge for the whole, exclusive only of its own correction, which in all appearance is not behind the worst in iniquity: I rather conjecture they may be as Potsherds of the Earth, dashed to Pieces one upon another, with such other additional corrections as may please the Creator, Governr, & Judge of the World in judgement and mercy to inflict, as famine, pestalence & the like, yet, let us as his people trust in God,

repentance, where yet needfull, & a free & humble resignation to his will, as it is our duty, it is our safest way.

The death of the late Emperor[52] seems to have broke the strata of all the measures in Europe, & nothing appears anywhere but preparations for warr, as if the trumpet were sounding to sumon all the voracious beasts of the forest, & carnavorous Fowls of the Air to the great feast, where the flesh of Kings, & of Princes, & of Captains, & of all that Dewell upon the Earth, are to be their prey & repast.

And as to the King of Prucia[52] in particular, the sodain & unexpected eruption he hath made from his own Kingdom, & Invasion of Silecia, is quite romantick, & an amusem^{t}, paradox, & puzle to all the polititions in Christendom, nor can they so much as guess at his Politicks or meaning, since many suppose all Europe is agst him, as the first publick breaker of the Peace of the whole, save Great Britain & Spain (w^{ch} affects them selves chiefly & not y^{e} general) but it is reasonably probable that a few months more will unriddle the whole. But now in more particular manner to the concerns in Pensilv^{a}, I have seen (& heard of) very differing accounts of the State of your Case, but believe the printed Votes of the Assembly, thy own letter, & one from my good fr^{d}, Is: Pemberton, to be most genuine, and upon the whole I cannot but think y^{t} the Governour in his work of superarogation has aimd altogether at his own promotion at the expence of both the civil & religious Libertys & Propertys of the People there (& especially of our own), & yet may be disappointed: for he seems to depend alltogether upon the Countenance he may imagine to have of the King for his seeming zeal for his service, but if his zeal be only the effect of the manner of his Education, in an imperious, arbitrary insult over a comp^{y} of poor Negro Slaves, scarce reasonably inslav'd, in a little Island in y^{e} West Indies, & himself, not the K, the real object of his

[52]Frederick II (1712-1786), surnamed the Great, succeeded to the crown in 1740. The Emperor Charles VI died in Vienna on the 20th of October, 1740. Frederick invaded Silesia without warning.

The upheaval would be the War of the Austrian Succession.

managem^{ts} at bottom, he may be out in his politicks, in thinking to intitle so great a Monarch as the King of great Britain to his conduct, who is well known to be opposite in Sentiments and practice to all arbitrary sway in all his Dominions, which is more reverse to o^{er} Brittish Constitution than to any under the Sun.

And to be more particular yet, The People of Pensilv^{a} are possessed of a just & Equitable Constitution, Established under the Crown of England, their Principles with respect to Religion being well known to the King before they came there, nay, before y^{e} grant of that Charter, w^{ch} is the basis of all their Laws & lib^{er}tys, they relinquished their all in their native Land, where they had, in their several degrees, equall p^{r}viledges with other subjects, they removed at p^{r}sonall & possessory hazards, into an uncultivated wilderness, for some reasons & advantages to themselves. They are blessed of heaven in their Industry, & governd in their managements from above under a favorite of heaven as a Providentiall & Instrumental head over them, & (subject to the Crown) he & they have power given them to make Laws under a Check by the Crown, for the better government of their affairs in Civil rights, & a fundamental Law, in point of Religion for Liberty of Conscience, where God himself can & ought alone to rule. They are certain (as to them selves) that they ought not to Learn Warr, bear arms, or fight, to hazard their own lives, or the lives of human kind, as being inconsistant with the end of the Coming of X^{t}, the nature of his Kingdom, & the prime rectitude & End of human Nature; & can therefore make no Laws, so long as in the course of Providence the Legislature is in their hands, either for levying men to warr, training them to it, or paying them for destroying their own Species who bear the image of their Creator; & yet (according to the example of their holy & Divine head & Law giver), they can, & do (to prevent offences as much as may be as they are so stated) present their sovereign a sume of money to be applyd to the transportation of troops raised in the Province, but not by their means, nor by any Law established there, military or Civil. Doth the King therefore by a military & arbitrary power break in upon the Civil Constitution of this Province? No. Only he requires his officers to beat a voluntier drum in the Countrey,

that all who are free men, & free Agents, to such a Number required, or thereabout, may inlist themselves on a special immergency, at the King's own expence of Levying & pay, requiring no more of the Province but only the charges of their transportation to the Place assignd & intended for their service; & all this the Legislature there under due & deliberate consideration perform, but their Governour who, according to his office, ought to have been as a father, Councilor, & protector unto them agst the imergances of all (their Lawfull Sovereign, who can do no injury, only excepted), without any other motives visible than the uncertain view of his own promotion there or elsewhere under the Crown, becomes the chief, if not only incourager of the needless inlisting of about as many of the bought Servants of the Countrey (being as much the prop^{r}ty of their masters as their lands, goods, money, or clothing & without which they could not cultivate their lands or maintain their familys)* as the whole precise number demanded by the King, besides near twice the number more than required of servants & freemen voluntiers, by w^{ch} the charge of transportation might probably be doubled.

The Assembly, therefore, being the representatives of the People, & warranted by the Constitution & Laws of their Countrey, & invested with sufficient powers from thence, retrench so much of the money they had given to the Crown for transportation of the troops, as might be sufficient to recompence the Loss of the Countrey, in their inlisted Servants, supposing there was sufficient still of y^{t} money for the transportation of all the soldiers really required by the King and lawfully inlisted. What can the Gouvernour do in this Case to satisfie his resentm^{ts} agst the People of this Province, thus represented in Assembly & Legislature? Hath he any power, tho will, to compell them to any complyance with his pleasure herein? None at all, But complains to the K. & Council in Great Britain, ag^{t} what they have done. What remedy can he have there? Onely the King's frown & displeasure, at worst, which with saving to their Consciences with regard to the Law of God therein, & the laws & libertys of the Country they represent, as a solemn trust on that behalf, they should be very carefull not to incurr.

*This parenthesis is omitted by Armistead.

But if the King should be moved to resentment by any Misrepr^sentations of y^e^ Case by y^e^ Govern^r^* & any Party he can make (which is not very likely he will, when rightly informed in y^e^ Case) what can he lawfully do against them, according to the Laws & fundamental Constitution of Great Britain, which generally & necessarily obtain in all her Plantations & Dependancies? He can do nothing by any force but that of the Laws, for that would be an infraction upon the Constitution of the whole Brittish Empire. But this may Lawfully, tho' I think not prudently be done, considering the Excellency of the Constitution of y^t^ Province.

By management, an Assembly of other Sentiments & Views may in time be procured, by whom the Laws & Constitution, the King's Conserves, may be altered & lost, & the majority of the People there may possibly in time be so infatuated as to fetter & shackle themselves with forts, castles, guns, & swords, & inslave themselves by their own consent, yeilding their libertys, Propertys, & Consciences to the baser Sort, who are ever ready to prey upon the better, more mild, & innocent of Mankind, under the names of Kings & Princes, who are too comonly subject to the vile & mercenary F[l]atteries of Parasites (who suggest to them the glaring views of absolute power and uncontrowlable sway) being so station'd & surrounded with those voratious . .† that the groans of the oppressed can rarely be heard; yet the rulers themselves, who not so much to blame as their Advisers, are generally the butts of the resentments & Curses of y^e^ People so used, & w^ch^ sometimes terminates in a torrent of violence & rebellion, w^ch^ never can happen where Quakers are the subjects. Or, as the Property of that Government stated, y^e^ King may justly when he Pleases, upon paym^t^ of what is due to the present Proprietors & Govern^er^ of y^t^ Province by agreem^t^ on Record, Assume the Governm^t^ upon himself, & depute who it may please him therein. How then will that alter the case in point of right with respect to the support & charge of Governm^t^? Not at all, for the Property of the People will

*Armistead's *Logan* adds the name Gordon.

†Armistead's *Logan* reads *men-of-war* but the original does not appear to represent these words.

still be the same, & they may give or not give as in Wisdom & duty, & to what ends they may se cause, but ought allways to be Generous, full & liberal (I think) in support of all the usefull & necessary ends of human Rule, as an Ordinance of God for the Comon Safety & good of Mankind. And it is the King, not the people, who hath the right of y^e^ applycation of taxes rais'd, tho' by themselves, for it is then given, & the property thereby altered. Nevertheless, seing the Legislative part of the Province on the part of y^e^ People hath hitherto been principled against Warr & fighting, they have nobly done in justly withstanding every attempt of a breach upon them y^t^ way, & having been hitherto surrounded with the arms of Kind & beneficent Providence in all times of warr & seeming danger & suffered little or nothing for want of the Arm of f[l]esh in which they have not confided, they will do well still to hold on the same way as good stewards for him by whose good & allruling providence they were placed in that trust, till it may Please the Author & Ruler of the universe as a correction of the levity of y^t^ People in time to come to suffer them to destroy their own Liberties, & fetter & inslave them selves & the just also in that day under the comon calamity.

And as to one of the present Proprietors,[53] who I hear hath deserted the Christian Principles & ffriends of so good & wise a ffather, & his own (& should be heartily grieved if it should p^r^ve true), he can p^r^pose to himself no manner of advantage by it if he were Govern^r^ under the K. or y^e^ rest of y^e^ ffamily, for the People being justly offended with his Apostacy, & the part he hath taken in the p^r^sent Controversie, it is not likely they would be very open handed to him in y^t^ Station, but for my own part, if it were fit for me to concern myself at all in the affair, but if I could be byased at all, it would be in the ffavour of y^t^ family [illegible] allow Truth is truth if all the world should desert it.

[53]Thomas Penn (1702-1775) was the "one of the present Proprietors" referred to here; about this time he went back to England, and in 1751 he married Lady Juliana Fermor, and forsook his Quaker principles. See Jenkins, *The Family of William Penn,* 1899, p. 129 n.

I may by this time have tired thee with reading this long scrawl, as myself with writing it, & ad only one short hint more & that is that what relates to the Bank Lott. I have answered to thy son now, & so can conclude with L. to thy self, my good fr^{d}, S. L. & family, fro thy and their sincere fr^{d},

T. S.

* * *

LETTER TWENTY-ONE

William Logan to Thomas Story

quarto 1 page
addressed:
To Thomas Story
In London
per Capt. Tiffin
endorsed:
Answ^{d} 12mo 24

Philadelphia, 29th 6mo, 1740.

Esteemed Friend,
Thomas Story.

Being just now Returned from Stenton, where I had my Fathers Orders to acquaint thee, that he received thy kind Lett^{r} p Hargrave, & should have answered it by this Opportunity, but that the last Shock of y^{e} Palsey, which Seized him on 16th 12mo last, has Affected his Right Side in such a Manner, that he cannot Write with his usual freedom, & must therefore defer it for a short time.

I am, also, both by my Fathers and Mothers Orders to Request one Favour of thee, which is this, That if That Water Lott, where my Uncle Read[54] kept a Board Yard, between the Market Street, & Mulberry Street, & known by y^{e} Name of y^{e} London Company Lott, is to be disposed off, with a good Title; And if it is, That thou wouldst be pleased to inform them, p

[54]Perhaps, Charles Read, son of Charles Read and brother of Sarah Logan, Senr. See *Hannah Logan's Courtship*.

first Opportunity, as they would be willing to purchase it, & give as much for it as any other person. My Parents are very desirous to have it on my acco^{t}: My Father having neglected to purchase a Water Lott at a time when he could easily have done it, & for which he says he Cannot forgive himself.

Thy Favour in this Particular, will be greatly Acknowledged by y^{m}, and ever remembered by Thy Assured Friend

WILLM LOGAN.

My Sister, Sally Norris, was del^{vd} of a daughter the 6th Last Month.

* * *

LETTER TWENTY-TWO

Thomas Story to William Logan

quarto 1 page Draft only

London, 12mo 24, 1740/1.

W^{m} Logan,

Respected Friend.

I have thine of the 29th of the 6mo, the first part whereof gave me more than comon concern, to find the fit of the Palsey thy Father had last year had so much affected him as it hath, & not for his own sake, familys, & Country's only, but for my own too, doubting I might have been deprivd of the advantage of a correspond^{t} so agreable & informing; but now am sensible of his recovery in some good degree, as I sincerely wish'd it, having had a letter from him of y^{e} 8 9^{ber} last, by w^{ch} am obliged, & intend to write p this opportunity, or next.

As to that Water-Lott mentioned in thine, I was not prepard to give thee a proper Answer to thy enquiry when the last ship saild from hence, about a week ago, but writing to Capt^{n} Sam^{l} Bonham the Chief Director of the Land Company's Affairs, about it, he says, "he is a stranger to the value of it" [tho' it is 112 foot on the river, & goes back to front Street] "& therefore desires to know the most my friend" (for I namd

no name) "will give for it, & then he will enquire & consider" "if it may be worth the Company's while to sell it, & then he" "will let me know his resolution thereon." And this is all he writes about it. But as the Company have Agents in the Countrey, it may not be amiss to talk with the Chief of them, tho' at a distance, to know their apprehensions of the value before you write hither again, on y^{t} subject. I left the Company (as to medling many of their concerns) soon after I made up my accounts with them, & know nothing of their affairs at present. But the title, I believe, is good, & if I can do thy ffather or thee any service in it I will, as soon as for any one, both for the sake of thy Parents & thy own as being theirs. I congratulate thy sister's safe delivery of her first Born, to a husband of a Family I lov'd.

With due respects to thy Father, Mother, sisters, & brother, & self I conclude this from

Thy loving Friend,
T. S.

To W^{m} Logan.
The sooner I hear from thee again
on y^{e} subject the better.

INDEX

Figures in black type indicate main entries.

Alexander, William, 15
Antigua, 8
Arch Street Burial Ground, Phila., 6
Arch Street Meeting House, *see* Pine Street Meeting House
Armistead, Wilson, 13, 53 *note*
Armitt, Sarah, *see* Logan, Sarah (Armitt)
Armitt, Sarah (Whitpain), 35 *note*
Armitt, Stephen, 35 *note*
Arnold, Samuel, 10
Arscott, Alexander, 2, 34, **35** *note*, 37, 55
Askew, John, 17, **21**, 27, 29, 32, 38
Austrian Succession, war of, 85

Barbados, 9
Bell, Jacob, 73 *note*
Besse, Joseph, 56 *note*
Biddle, Sarah, *see* Plumstead, Sarah (Biddle Righton)
Blakeny, Major General, 80, 81
Blan, John, 55
Bland, Elias, 56 *note*
Boerhaave, Herman, 73
Bonham, Capt. Samuel, 91
Bownas, Samuel, 40 *note*
Bowstead, John, 7
Bracken, Rachel, 62 *note*
Bradford, Andrew, 35 *note*
Bradford, Thomas, 10
Braine, Benjamin, 10
Brett-James, Norman G., 58 *note*
Brick houses, cost of, 23
Bristol, Eng., 55; Friends' school in, 2, 35 *note*
Bristol Royal Infirmary, 40 *note*
Bristol Yearly Meeting, 42
Broughton, 7
Browne, Peter (bishop), 61

Canada, 81
Canterbury, Archbishop of, 13
Canterbury (ship), 2
Carlisle, Cathedral Church of, 7
Carlisle, Earl of, 13
Carlisle Monthly Meeting, 11, 14
Carpenter, Hannah, *see* Fishbourn, Hannah (Carpenter)
Carpenter, Hannah (Hardiman), 26 *note*
Carpenter, Samuel, 26 *note*
Champion, Esther (Palmer), 40 *note*
Champion, Joseph, 21 *note*, 55
Champion, Richard, 40
Champion, Sarah (Finny), 40 *note*
Charles VI, of Austria, 85 *note*
Chester Yearly Meeting, 36
Chew, Mary (Galloway), 79 *note*
Chew, Samuel, M. D., 79
Church, attitude toward in Scotland, 37-38
Circular Yearly Meetings, 9
Clark, Ann, 73 *note*
Clark, John, 73 *note*
Clark, Rev. Samuel, 69
Clark, William, M. D., 73
Claus, Jacob, 13
Claypoole, Edith (Ward), 31 *note*
Claypoole family, 31 *note*
Claypoole, James, 31 *note*
Claypoole, Joseph, 31
Claypoole, Rebecca (Jennings), 31 *note*

Clement, Simon, 5
Coffin, Mary, *see* Starbuck, Mary (Coffin)
Collier, Rebecca, 62 *note*
Collinson, Peter, **58**, 60, 61, 78
Constable, George, 6
Constable, Thomasin, *see* Story, Thomasin (Constable)
Cork, 11, 12
Cornwall, 52
Cowman, Jeremiah, **21**, 33, 34, 36, 41, 42
Cowman, Mary (Shute), 22 *note*
Cowman Nathan, 21 *note*, **22**
Cox, Hannah (Smith), 35 *note*
Cox, John, 35 *note*
Crouch, John, 9, 11
Crowley, Ambrose, 4
Crowley, Sir Ambrose, 4
Crowley family, 3, 4
Crowley, Judith, *see* Ford, Judith (Crowley)
Crowley, Sarah, *see* Lloyd, Sarah (Crowley)
Cumberland, 11, 53
Cumberland Quarterly Meeting, 14

Deism, 34, 46
Delavall, Hannah, *see* Hill, Hannah (Lloyd Delavall)
Delavall, John, 24 *note*
Denwood, Levin, 79
Devonshire House Monthly Meeting, 11
Dickinson, John, 20 *note*
Dickinson, Jonathan, 8, 21 *note*, 24 *note*
Dickinson, Mary, 8
Dickinson, Mary (Norris), 20 *note*, 91
Drinker, Elizabeth, 35 *note*
Drummond, George, 53 *note*
Drummond, May, 9, 51, **53**, 55, 58, 59, 66
Dulaney, 79

Eccleston, John, 10
Edinburgh, 37, 53
Eliott, Anne (Story), 6, 9
Ellwood, Thomas, 7
Emlen, Anne (Reckless), 83 *note*
Emlen, Deborah (Powel), 26 *note*
Emlen family, 19, 26 *note*, 35 *note*, **82**, 83 *note*
Emlen, George, 35 *note*, 82, 83 *note*
Emlen, George, 3rd and 4th, 83 *note*
Emlen, Hannah, *see* Logan, Hannah (Emlen)
Emlen, Joseph, 83 *note*
Emlen, Joshua, 26 *note*
Emlen, Mary (Heath), 35 *note*, 83 *note*
Emlen, Samuel, 26 *note*
Emlen, Sarah (Fishbourn), 26 *note*, 83 *note*
Europe, conditions in, 75
Evans, Governor, 24 *note*
Ewer, Mary, *see* Stanbury, Mary (Ewer)

Falconar, John, 10
Fênelon, Archbishop, 56 *note*
Fermor, Lady Juliana, *see* Penn, Juliana (Fermor)
Field, John, 7
Finny, Sarah, *see* Champion, Sarah (Finny)
Fishbourn family, 26 *note*
Fishbourn, Hannah, *see* Lloyd, Hannah (Fishbourn)
Fishbourn, Hannah (Carpenter), 26 *note*
Fishbourn, Jane (Roberts), *see* Galloway, Jane (Roberts Fishbourn)
Fishbourn, Samuel, 26 *note*
Fishbourn, Sarah, *see* Emlen, Sarah (Fishbourn)

Fishbourn, William, 24 *note,* **26,** 34, 36, 37, 40-44
Fleet prison, 10
Ford, Cornelius, 4
Ford, Judith (Crowley), 3-4
Fothergill, John, M. D., 58 *note,* 68 *note,* 73
Fox, R. Hingston, 73 *note*
France, 84; relations with Spain, 47, 75-76
Franklin, Benjamin, 35 *note*
Frederick II, 85 *note*
French, David, 79
French, studied privately, 20
Friends' Burial Ground in Carlisle, 14
Friends, condition of, 34, 37, 52, 53, 76, 77
Friends, preaching, 65, 68
Friends, Society of, condition of, 52-53
Furly, Benjamin, 13, 62 *note*

Gale, Levin, 79
Galloway, Jane, *see* Shippen, Jane (Galloway)
Galloway, Jane (Roberts Fishbourn), **26** *note,* 31, 42
Galloway, Mary, *see* Chew, Mary (Galloway)
Galloway, Richard, 79 *note*
Geology, stratified, early forecast of discovery, 71 *note,* 72
George III, 35 *note*
Germans, attitude toward advancement of religion, 76
Germany, 76 *note,* 77
Gibson, George Stacey, 1
Gill, Joseph, **45,** 48
Gill, Roger, 7, 14
Gooch, Ann, 12
Gooch, Thomas, 12
Gooch, Thomas (bishop), 80 *note*
Gooch, Sir William, 80
Gookin, Governor, 3
Gordon, Governor, of Penna., 88
Gouldney, Henry, 10
Gower, Sir Thomas, 6
Green, Joseph, 11, 13, 14
Green, Joseph J., 15
Guest, Alice, 29 *note*
Guest, George, 29 *note*
Guest, Phoebe, *see* Morris, Phoebe (Guest)
Guyon, Madame, 56 *note*

Ham, A., 79
Hardiman, Hannah, *see* Carpenter, Hannah (Hardiman)
Hat honor, 7
Heath, Ann, *see* Waln, Ann (Heath)
Heath, Elizabeth, *see* Livezey, Elizabeth (Heath)
Heath family, 82 *note,* 83 *note*
Heath, Hannah, *see* Hurford, Hannah (Heath)
Heath, Mary, *see* Emlen, Mary (Heath)
Heath, Richard, 82, **83,** *note*
Heath, Robert, 83 *note*
Heath, Susan (Woolrich), 83 *note*
Heath, Susanna, *see* Morris, Susanna (Heath)
Hebrew, studied privately, 20
Hill, Hannah, 24 *note*
Hill, Hannah (Lloyd Delavall), 24 *note*
Hill, Henry, 25
Hill, Mary, *see* Pemberton, Mary (Stanbury Jordan Hill)
Hill, Captain Richard, **24,** 52 *note*
Hispaniola, 8
Hobbes, Thomas, **60,** 61 *note*
Holland, 9, 68
Holme, Benjamin, 42
Hoskins, James, controversy with Thomas Story, 10, 11, 12
Houses, value of, in Penna., 17

How, Richard, 10
Hume, Isabel, *see* Logan, Isabel (Hume)
Huntington, Isaac, 11, 21, 25, 28, 33, 39, 44
Huntington, John, 12
Hurford, Hannah (Heath), 83 *note*
Hurford, Samuel, 83 *note*
Hyam, Thomas, 10

Indians, friendly dealings with, 5
Ingham, Benjamin, 76 *note,* 77
Ireland, 9
Iron works, investment in, 22
Irwin, Major, 6

Jamaica, British Government authorizes expedition to, 80
James, Esther, *see* Shippen, Esther (James)
Jenkins, Charles F., 1
Jennings, Rebecca, *see* Claypoole, Rebecca (Jennings)
Jews, attitude toward Christianity and Quakers in particular, 76
Jones, Charles, Sr. and Jr., 40 *note*
Jordan, Mary, *see* Pemberton, Mary (Stanbury Jordan Hill)
Jordan, Robert, 52 *note*
Justice-town, 6, 8, 13, 14

Keimer, Samuel, 24 *note*
Kendall, John, 15
Kinsey, John, 2nd and 3rd, 79 *note*

Land Company, 91, 92
Lands, value of, in Penna., 17
Langford, Jonas, 24 *note*
Leicester, 77 *note*
Leslie, Rev. Charles, 9
Leyden University, 73 *note*
Literature, 5, 34, 35 *note,* 37, 40 *note,* 50, 56 *note,* 61 *note*
Livezey, Elizabeth (Heath), 83 *note*
Livezey, Thomas, 83 *note*
Lloyd, Charles, 4
Lloyd, David, 3
Lloyd, Elizabeth, *see* Zachary, Elizabeth (Lloyd)
Lloyd family, 25 *note*
Lloyd, Hannah, *see* Hill, Hannah (Lloyd Delavall)
Lloyd, Hannah, *see* Pemberton, Hannah (Lloyd)
Lloyd, Hannah (Fishbourn), 25 *note*
Lloyd, Mary, *see* Norris, Mary (Lloyd)
Lloyd, Mordecai, 25 *note*
Lloyd, Sarah, 25 *note*
Lloyd, Sarah (Crowley), 4
Lloyd, Sarah (Young), 25 *note*
Lloyd, Susanna, 25 *note*
Lloyd, Thomas, 20 *note,* 24 *note,* **25,** 39 *note*
Locke, John, 56 *note,* 61 *note,* **62**
Logan, Charles, 35 *note*
Logan, Deborah (Norris), 2, **35** *note*
Logan, George, M. D., **35** *note*
Logan, Hannah, *see* Smith, Hannah (Logan)
Logan, Hannah (Emlen), 19 *note,* **35** *note,* 83 *note*
Logan, Isabel (Hume), 2, 3
Logan, James, **2**; birth and education, 2, 59; schoolmaster, 2, 35; came to America, 2; rivalry with T. Story, 3; visits to Europe, 3, 4, 17, 48; meeting with Judith Crowley, 3; marriage, 4; house in Philadelphia, 17-19, 26, **41, 44**; children, **19, 23,** 48-50, 54, 59, 60, 66, 69, 78, **82,** 90; accidents, 5, **23,** 34, 56; home in Germantown, *see* Stenton; illness, 17, 90, 91; official positions, 2, 3, 56, 70, **78**; writings, 5, **56,** 60, 61, 66, **68,** 71, 74, 84; correspondents, **1,** 56, 58, 60; library,

5, 49, 50; attitude toward war, 4; business, 18, 22, 23, 32, 60; interest in Indians, 5; financial transactions with T. Story, 21-23, 26-30, 32-34, 38-44; declining years, 62, 67, 68, 70; decease, 6; public affairs in America, 78-82, 84 ff.
Logan, James, Jr., 19 *note*, 23, 34, **35** *note*
Logan, Mary (Pleasants), 35 *note*
Logan, Patrick, 2
Logan, Sarah, *see* Norris, Sarah (Logan)
Logan, Sarah (Armitt), 19 *note*, 35 *note*
Logan, Sarah (Read), 4, 6, **13**, **19** *note*, 25, 27, 29 *note*, 32, 39, 45, 46, 48-50, 54, 59, 67, 69, 73, 82, 90-92
Logan, William, M. D., 2, 35 *note*, 39, **40**, 41-43, 55, 58, 61
Logan, William, 6, 19 *note*, 23, 34 **35** *note*, 39, 40 *note*, 82, 90, 91, 92
London, 7, 9, 11, 14, 54
London Company Lot, 90
London Hope (ship), 4
London Yearly Meeting, 35 *note*
Lybrand, Elizabeth, *see* Shippen, Elizabeth (Lybrand)

Malebranche, Nicolas, 64
Marsh, Ruth, *see* Mead, Ruth (Marsh)
Martin, Josiah, **56**, 58, 60, 66
Maryland, 68
Mead, Richard, M. D., **58**, 61
Mead, Ruth (Marsh), 58 *note*
Methodists, 76, 77 *note*
Michael, Prince, 37
Miller, William F., 53 *note*
Morris, Anthony, 29-34, 36, 37, 41, 44
Morris family, 29 *note*
Morris, Mary, 29 *note*
Morris, Morris, 83 *note*
Morris, Phoebe (Guest), 29 *note*
Morris, Sarah (Powel), 26 *note*, 29 *note*
Morris, Susanna (Heath), 22 *note*, **83** *note*

Nantucket Island, 8
Neate, Anthony, 10
Newburyport, **77** *note*
New England Yearly Meeting, *see* Rhode Island Yearly Meeting
Nicholson, Captain, 21 *note*, 32, 36
Nixon, Sarah, *see* Tinling, Sarah (Nixon)
Norris, Deborah, *see* Logan, Deborah (Norris)
Norris, Isaac, Sr., 3, 14, 20 *note*, 21 *note*, 24 *note*, **39** *note*, 83 *note*
Norris, Isaac, Jr., 6, 19 *note*, **20** *note*, 92
Norris, Mary, *see* Dickinson, Mary (Norris)
Norris, Mary (Lloyd), 20 *note*, 39 *note*
Norris, Sarah (Logan), 13, 19 *note*, **20**, 23, 25, 27, 32, 34, 39, 45, **47**, **48**-51, 54, 59, 67, 69, 73, 91, 92
Northumberland, 53

Oaths, Friends' opposition to, 7, 10
Oxley, Joseph, 77 *note*

Padly, John, 13
Palmer, Elizabeth, *see* Plumstead, Elizabeth (Palmer)
Palmer, Esther, *see* Champion, Esther (Palmer)
Paper money in Penna., 17
Pardshaw Monthly Meeting, 22 *note*
Parsons, 40 *note*
Peace and war, 4, 47, 79-82, 85, 89
Peckover, Edmund, 77 *note*
Peel Meeting, 56 *note*
Pemberton, Charles, 29 *note*

Pemberton family, 29 *note*
Pemberton, Hannah (Lloyd), 25 *note*
Pemberton, Israel, Sr., 4, 29-34, 36, 37, 39, 41, 44, 85
Pemberton, Israel, Jr., 29 *note*, **52**, 53
Pemberton, James, 25 *note*, 29 *note*
Pemberton, John, 29 *note*
Pemberton, Mary (Stanbury Jordan Hill), 24 *note*, 52 *note*
Pemberton, Rachel (Read), 4, 29 *note*
Pemberton, Sarah, 29 *note*
Penn, Hannah, 5, 9
Penn, John, 9
Penn, Juliana (Fermor), 89 *note*
Penn, Thomas, 89 *note*
Penn, William, 7, 8, 9, 13, 24 *note*, 39 *note;* takes James Logan to America as his secretary, 2; relations with Thomas Story, 3.
Penn, William, Jr., 18 *note*
Pennsylvania, early politics in, 3, 84, 85, 86, 87
Pennsylvania Land Company, 10
People's Party, 3
Perth, Duke of, 53 *note*
Peter, Czar of Russia, 13
Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, 3, 4, 5, 18 *note*, 21 *note*, 22 *note*, 24 *note*, 26 *note*, 79 *note*
Philadelphia receives Logan's library, 5
Pickworth, Henry, 35 *note*
Pike, Joseph, 11, 12
Pine Street Meeting House, 26 *note*
Pitt, Andrew, 10
Pleasants, Mary, *see* Logan, Mary (Pleasants)
Plumley, Sarah, *see* Shippen, Sarah (Plumley)
Plumstead, Clement, Sr. and Jr., 79 *note*
Plumstead, Elizabeth (Palmer), 79 *note*
Plumstead family, 79 *note*
Plumstead, Sarah (Biddle Righton), 79 *note*
Plumstead, William, 79 *note*
Postage, cost of, 56
Powel, Abigail (Wilcox), 26 *note*, 29 *note*
Powel, Deborah, *see* Emlen, Deborah (Powel)
Powel, Samuel, Sr., **26**, 27, 29 *note*, 31
Powel, Samuel, Jr., 26 *note*
Powel, Sarah, *see* Morris, Sarah (Powel)
Preston, Samuel, 24 *note*
Proprietary Party, 3
Providence of Londan (ship), 7
Pryor, Mary, 29 *note*

Read, Amy, 4
Read, Charles, Sr., 4, 90 *note*
Read, Charles, Jr., 90
Read family, 4, 29 *note*, 90 *note*
Read, Rachel, *see* Pemberton, Rachel (Read)
Read, Sarah, *see* Logan, Sarah (Read)
Reckless, Anne, *see* Emlen, Anne (Reckless)
Reckless, John, 83 *note*
Rhode Island Yearly Meeting, 8
Richardson, John, 8
Richardson, Rebecca, *see* Shippen, Rebecca (Richardson)
Righton, Sarah, *see* Plumstead, Sarah (Biddle Righton)
Roberts, Edward, 26 *note*, 31
Roberts, Jane, *see* Galloway, Jane (Roberts Fishbourn)
"Rowlands, Jeremiah," 12
Rowntree, Joshua, 71 *note*
Royal Society in London, 5, 68

St. Austell, 52
Scarborough, 71
Scotland, 9, 37
Scotland, religious affairs in, 34, 37, 38
Sharpless, Isaac, 3
Shippen, Ann, *see* Story, Ann (Shippen)
Shippen, Edward, Sr., 8, **18**
Shippen, Edward, Jr., **18** *note*, 25, 26 *note*
Shippen, Elizabeth (Lybrand), 18 *note*
Shippen, Esther (James), 18 *note*
Shippen, Jane (Galloway), 26 *note*
Shippen, Joseph, 18 *note*, 19
Shippen, Joseph, Jr., 26 *note*
Shippen, Rebecca (Richardson), 18 *note*
Shippen, Sarah (Plumley), 18 *note*
Shippensburg, 18 *note*
Shute, Mary, *see* Cowman, Mary (Shute)
Silesia, invasion of, 85
Sizargh (ship), 22 *note*
Smith, Hannah, *see* Cox, Hannah (Smith)
Smith, Hannah (Logan), 19 *note*, 34, 35 *note*, 39, 59, 67, 69, 73
Smith, John, 6, 19 *note*, 26 *note*, 35 *note*
Somerset, Duke of, 13
Spain, alliance with France, 75-76
Spotswood, Col., 80
Stanbury, Mary, *see* Pemberton, Mary (Stanbury Jordan Hill)
Stanbury, Mary (Ewer), 24 *note*
Stanbury, Nathan, 24 *note*
Starbuck, Mary (Coffin), 8
Steel, James, 38
Stenton, home of James Logan, **5**, 22, **23**, 28, 30, 35 *note*, 90
Stone houses, cost of, 23
Story, Ann (Shippen), 3, 4, **8**, 15, 17, 18 *note*
Story, Anne, *see* Eliott, Anne (Story)
Story, Christopher, 6
Story, George, **6**, 9, 13
Story, Thomas, 3, **6**; parents and other relations, 6; home, *see* Justice-town; early religious views, 7; professional work, 3, 7, 14; became a Quaker and a minister, 3, 7, 13; came to America, 7; first meeting with J. Logan, 3, 8; marriage, 3, 8, 15; attorneys, see Morris, Anthony, and Pemberton, Israel; property in Philadelphia, 17-19, 21, 36, **41**, 44, 82, 90, 91; legal work in America, 3, 8; travels in America, 7-9, 15; active in Church affairs, 9; visit to West Indies, 8; return to England via Barbados, 9; membership transferred from London to Carlisle, 11; controversy, 13, 15, 66, 70; business transactions, 10-11, 32, 37, 38; visit to Holland, 9; travels in British Isles, 7, 9, 15, 36, 39, 42, 46, 52-55; residence in London, 7, 46, 54, 58; London "landlords," 9, 63; in the Fleet Prison, 10; personal appearance, 12; gifts to his friends, 13, 45, 48, 51; interviews with noted people, 13; mental ability, 3, 13, 15, 50, 67; adversaries, 10-12, 15, 46, 50, 54, 70; character, 11, 12, 14, 15, 54; library, 13, 50; sermons, 9, 67, 70, 72; views on religion, 46, 65, 70, 73; views on the origin of matter, 15, 69, 71-74; interest in arboriculture, 14, 54; death, 14; Journal, 1, 14, 15; public affairs in Europe, 47, 52, 75, 78, 82, 84.
Story, Thomas, Sr., 6, 7

Story, Thomasin (Constable), 6
Stourbridge, 3, 4
Sunderland, Earl of, 13

Taylor, Andrew, 7
Taylor, Joseph, 22 *note*
Thompson, Isaac and Co., 14
Thompson, Silvanus, 1
Thompson, Thomas, 1
Tiffin, Captain, 21 *note,* 90
Tindal, Matthew, 34, 37
Tinling, Richard, 12
Tinling, Sarah (Nixon), 12
Tyths, protest against, 52

Vandewall, Daniel, 10
Virginia, 80
Voltaire, F. M. de, 56 *note*

Waln, Ann (Heath), 83 *note*
Waln, Richard, 83 *note*
War, French and Spanish, 47
Ward, Edith, *see* Claypoole, Edith (Ward)
Wesley, Charles, 77 *note*
Wesley, John, 76 *note,* 77 *note*
West Indian Islands, 8, 80, 85
Westminster Monthly Meeting, 11
Whitefield, George, 77
Whitpain, Sarah, *see* Armitt, Sarah (Whitpain)
Wilcox, Abigail, *see* Powel, Abigail (Wilcox)
Wilcox, Barnabas, 26 *note*
Wilcox, Sarah, 26 *note*
William Penn Charter School, overseers of, 9, 24 *note*
Wilson, J., 55
Wilson, Rachel, 77 *note*
Woolrich, Susan, *see* Heath, Susan (Woolrich)
Wright, Captain, 21 *note,* 78
Wyatt, Joseph, 11
Wyeth, Joseph, 10, 12
Wyeth, Margaret, 12

York, Archbishop of, 13
Yorkshire, 71, 76 *note,* 77
Young, B., 79
Young, Sarah, *see* Lloyd, Sarah (Young)

Zachary, Daniel, 25 *note*
Zachary, Elizabeth (Lloyd), 25 *note*
Zachary, Lloyd, 25